



P Olisci 2141 Global Violence & Injustice Notes

Political Science (The University of Western Ontario)



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Global Violence and Injustice

LESSON 1

Course Overview & How to Meet and Greet at Reception

- Learn how to make conversation during important meetings and diplomatic receptions
- Brief introductions and learn how to shake hands properly
- Longer introductions
- Pretend to exchange business cards

Learn how to make conversation during important meetings & diplomatic receptions

- Sample questions to help make conversations
- Memorize these 4 questions for emergency use:
 - What are the *newspapers* and *magazines* that you can't live without? (hard copies!)
 - If you could own only 3 *books*, what would they be?
 - Which *writers* and thinkers have influenced you?
 - If you could create one *law*, what would it be?

International topics

- If you could visit any time in history, when would it be?
- What are the sources of your best ideas?
- What would you give up for a more humane world?
- Which current trend most troubles you?
- What is the most important thing you learned (last year? As CEO?)

Is the North American introductory gesture: the basic handshake dead? (because of COVID)

- Experts estimate that between 80% and 90% of all communication is non-verbal
- Professor Simpson asked David Givens, director of the Centre for Nonverbal Studies in Spokane, Washington, to help us master the most essential North American introductory gesture: the basic handshake without doing it
- Aim for their 'triangle' with yours and try to clasp strongly with your triangle
 - Don't be wishy-washy and give them the tips of your finger

The Basic Handshake

- **101** → Reach out with your right hand, gripping the other person's palm
 - Squeeze and proceed with swift up-and-down motion (one or two pumps only). Release.
 - Don't push them down, not trying to show them you're dominant
- **Advanced class** → "The best of all possible handshakes is where you take a reading as you are doing it," says Givens. "Use your hand and fingers as tactile antennae to pick up messages regarding firmness and how long to grip."
 - Can look them in the eye (although some cultures consider this impolite)
- **Use it** any time
- **Warm it up** → "Cold hands betray anxiety," says Givens. Make eye contact and lose the death grip. Or say "Cold Hands, Warm Heart".
- Covid pandemic greetings: elbow or fist bump
- How to politely bow goodbye to the handshake

- If someone puts their hand forward, you can politely just put your hands together and bow to them
- Trying to join a group you want to speak to
 - Stand with your hands behind your back as you wait
 - Finally, they will recognize you, generally open up the circle
 - In the old days, you go around and shake hands with everyone in the circle and then stand in the group
- You can always decline the basic handshake
 - If you don't feel like bowing, you can wave or hold your hand against your chest. Smile!
 - I.e. Paul Martin (PM) and George Bush → Martin didn't want to shake hands so he smiled
- You may be carrying a lot of stuff at the reception so it might be hard to shake hands, so you can just keep holding your stuff and do a small bow
- Very deep bows in Asian cultures where your head goes below the diplomat's head

The Two-Handed Shake: Use Sparingly in Covid Era

- **101** → execute the basic handshake, but add your free hand on top, enveloping your partner's hand in a warm embrace
- **Advanced class** → "If, for example, you're at a business awards ceremony and a colleague wins, you can do the two-handed shake to show your true emotion. Outside of that—even closing a business deal—it would be a little strange," Givens says
- **Use it** sparingly
- **Dry out** → "It's something you see a lot when people have been drinking"

The Shake-and-Grab: Never Use

- **101** → a basic handshake in which the free hand is used to give the other person's shoulder or arm a (hopefully) light squeeze
- **Advanced class** → "This can show who the dominant person is. It's okay for a boss to put a hand on an underling's shoulder," says Givens, "but it's not okay for an underling to reciprocate"
- Trump used this with Clinton during debate
- **Use it** with someone very familiar, and only on occasions of great significance
- **Pad it down** → Givens believes men are more comfortable receiving this than are women, in part because of the protection a man's suit offers. "That shoulder padding is there for a reason – to mask movements that show weakness and to offer a feeling of protection."

The Hip-Hop Hug or Pound Hug or Man Hug

- **101** → a handshake, often gripped at the thumbs or fingertips, with a motion that brings the shakers together at the shoulders. Finish with a one-arm hug
- **Advanced class** → make it smooth and quick. Pat the back once and get out of there. No lingering embraces.
- **Use it** on weekends, if you must.
 - This is a "man-to-man" greeting that has no place in a business setting.
 - "I'd expect to see it between equals, but not with the boss," Given says
- **Wait it out** → "In the future, with Gen X and Y filling more power positions, I wouldn't be surprised if it crept into more formal meetings."
- **Simpson:** Don't use this anymore

Air kissing

- Also avoid this
- Used to be really popular for men and women, diplomats from France and Russia
- Important to go both ways (both sides of the cheek)
 - Some cultures go three ways

Donald Trump's handshake on Youtube Video (sent by student)

- Student writes: "It's interesting - there really is a huge display of a person's character in their handshake. You're bang on about Bernie, he's entirely selfless in his handshakes and seems to see it – rightfully so – only as the act of greeting another person. Check out this gif of him greeting people on a stage... he even uses a different culturally relevant handshake for the African American man!"
 - "Trump on the other hand does that aggressive yank, which after googling more, I found out is actually a habit of his. It's a power/dominance thing. The handshake in the tweet I sent was with his Supreme Court nominee. I feel like it's a subtle way of saying "you work for me", or for him to "know who's boss." He's a total bully"
- From video: Trump starts with a submissive shake then yanks the person he's shaking with and throws them off their balance

When in Rome, be nice to the Romans

- Good manners are still in fashion – on every other continent on the planet except our own
- Knowing the proper way to express thanks and show respect is essential in the global village

Here are a few etiquette tips to smooth your path to world domination (these are written by Givens so they are not the Professor's advice)

Brazil

- North Americans may admire efficiency, but citizens of this gregarious, easygoing nation view a rush to get to the point as shifty, untrustworthy behavior
- Expect lunch to take up to 2 hours and dinner 3, with the nuts and bolts of dealmaking reserved for after dessert
- Wait for your host to broach the point of your meeting

India

- Business cards are the subject of much pomp and circumstance
- List all of your degrees and accreditations, and pass out upon introduction to leader of the group
- Spend a moment appreciating any card you are given
- Most importantly, never, ever, give or receive a card with your left hand-on the subcontinent, that hand's associated with things lavatorial.

Business cards - still very important

- Learn how to present your business card → ie. bow and present business card
- Polite in Asian culture to receive business card and in front of everyone, look at it for a long time, flip it over to look at the back which often has lots of info, thank the person, and very politely put it in your pocket
 - Or if you have underlings there, hand it to them

Russia

- You may be on a first-name basis with everyone from the mailroom clerk to the CEO, but in Russia, formal salutations are still a must
- Introduce yourself by your surname, and be sure to address others in the same way
- Make sure you know the correct way to greet doctors, politicians and other titled officials
- For everybody else, use *Gaspodin* (Mr.) or *Gaspazhah* (Ms.) to show you've done your homework

China

- Exchanging gifts is common business practice in China despite the fact that it's officially banned by the state
- Leave the gift until the end of the meeting (and the deal's done) to avoid charges of bribery and to ensure that whatever you proffer is of equal or greater value than what you've accepted in the past.
- Never give cash
- And don't forget: be wary of objects and colors that might bring bad luck

Japan

- Avoid criticizing your Japanese colleague in public (even if he's a fool)
- Direct confrontation, too, is an indication of losing face
- Keep things harmonious by saying "That may be difficult," rather than blurting out "no"

The Middle East

- Forget email; a single phone call produced better results than endless barrage of electronic pleas
- Traditionally verbal, folks may prefer the spoken language to the written word
- Most consider a promise made in casual conversation to be just as binding as a signed agreement
- Don't overstate what you're capable of
 - Failure to deliver will be taken as a loss of honor

Power in International Security and Peace

- Power is arguably the most important concept in International Relations and politics
- **Power:** capacity to control or influence the behavior of others
- If A influences or controls B to do something (X), how do we know A caused B to do X?
- Maybe power is the ability of A to get B to take the Action X
 - Minus the probability that B would take the action anyway
- It is difficult to measure power and influence
- Old focus was upon **tangible factors** that could be measured (ie. territory, nuclear weapons, natural resources)

Tangible Sources of Power

- Military capabilities (ie. nuclear weapons, delivery systems such as ICBMs, MIRVs, cruise missiles)
- Jane's Defence Weekly magazine
 - Note spelling of Defence (not Defense) → british publication so they use british (Canadian spelling)
 - Seen as credible and reputable
 - It is now called Jane's Defence News
- SIPRI Yearbook is an annual compendium of data and analysis in the areas of security and conflict
 - Measures military spending and armaments; non-proliferation; arms control and disarmament
- Geo-political sources of power (ie. territory, location, topography)

- New York City is the most powerful city in the world arguably
- United Nations Statistical Yearbooks, now the [UN Common Database](#) or see [UN Data](#)
- Economic wealth (ie. mineral resources, oil, water, gross domestic product)
 - **GDP** = total value of economic goods and services produced and marketed annually within a state (older term that is still used)
 - **GNP** = gross national product; now use **GNI**
- **Gross national income (GNI)**: sum of a country's gross domestic product (GDP) plus its net income (positive or negative) from abroad
 - Represents value produced by a country's economy in a given year, regardless of whether source of the value created is domestic production or receipts from overseas
- **GNP** is GDP plus net income from overseas investments and remittances
 - Remittance money transfers are hugely important for some developing countries
 - Remittance flows to the developing world exceeded \$406bn in 2012 and \$450bn in 2013
 - Top countries for remittance income as % of GDP in 2012
 - Tajikistan (47%), Liberia (31%), Lesotho (27%), Nepal (22%), Samoa (21%)
- Population (ie. number of people, number of children, type of diseases, health of women)
 - World's biggest countries by population in 2100 (in order from greatest to least): India, China, Nigeria, US, DR Congo, Pakistan, Indonesia, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Uganda
 - World's most populous countries → India and China are largest

Tangible Sources of Hard Power

- **Hard power**: ability (through military or economic pressure) to make others do what they otherwise would not do
 - Expensive and may not succeed in getting others to do what they otherwise would not
 - Like the David & Goliath metaphor, where Putin is Goliath and Zelensky is David
 - Putin's hard power doesn't seem to be working as well as he thought when Russia invaded Ukraine
 - Goliath is a giant and David is a small person with just a slingshot → Goliath has hard power, David has very little power; they are in a face off
- The problem is that a state may be powerful in terms of tangible assets but unable to translate power into actual influence
- United States under Bill Clinton or Donald Trump had difficulty exerting influence due to its excessive hard power
- New focus is upon **intangible forces** that cannot be measured (ie. dynamic leadership, hard-working population)
 - Ie. Lech Walesa was the Polish union leader with enormous power who helped end the Communist world. He became President of Poland, won Nobel Peace Prize, and was then accused of being an informant so the Polish government is erasing him from history
 - His influence was an intangible factor that ended Cold War and now he has no influence

Intangible Sources of Power

- Intangibles like: belief systems, industry, time & energy, culture, attitudes toward winter, etc.
- Leadership and decision making capability
 - Russian President Mikhail Gorbachev was considered for a long time to be a great leader but then Russians undermined his reputation and looked back at the cold war and now say he was a weak leader

- Cuban President Fidel Castro was seen as an unpredictable and irrational leader but as he grew older, he was given some more respect
- Diplomatic and strategic skills
 - President of Egypt and Nobel Prize Winner for Peace Anwar Sadat
 - Canadian Nobel Peace Prize Winner Lester B. Pearson
- Intelligence capabilities
 - Mossad (Israel)
 - CIA, FBI, NSA (United States)
- Communication capabilities
 - Satellites, computers, cell phone technology, access to semiconductors, access to internet, etc
 - Leading the field in 2023 in the TOP500 rankings, Frontier is said to be the first exascale supercomputer → capable of more than a billion, billion operations a second (known as an Exaflop)
 1. Frontier, the new number 1, is built by Hewlett Packard Enterprise (HPE) and housed at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory (ORNL) in Tennessee, USA.
 2. Fugaku, which previously held the top spot, is installed at the Riken Center for Computational Science in Kobe, Japan. It is three times faster than the next supercomputer in the top 10.

Contemporary (Current) Analyses of “Power” Concept

- Power involves a **perceptual relationship**
- Perceptions of capabilities & intent, rather than what they ‘really’ are determines how states act
- Power is a **relative and reciprocal relationship**
- Each party influences the other; even if one party is weak, it can threaten to collapse and create a vacuum
 - Ie. if Burundi, Rwanda, and Somalia collapse, it affects the US
 - When Rwanda collapsed and had the resulting genocide, it threatened the security of the world, including the US
- Power tends to be issue-oriented
 - The Asian Tigers had power over economic issues
 - Canada has power over sea- and fresh-water related issues (we have longest coastline)
- Power is affected by one’s expectations
 - Ie. Soviet Union had and still has a reputation of heavy-handedness, prone to hard power, so it ‘benefits’ from its image
 - The US is expected to be conciliatory and to promote democracy
 - Therefore its power in the Middle East and Central Asia may be affected by its ‘weaker’ conciliatory image (ie. when Trump, Biden pulled out troops from Syria and Afghanistan)
- Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*
 - “International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim.”
 - Most famous quote from him
- Are nuclear weapons still a source of power? Yes
 - Countries holding world’s largest nuclear arsenal in order (most to least) → Russia, USA, China, France, UK, Pakistan, India, Israel, North Korea
 - Russia and US hold 95% of world’s nuclear weapons
 - Kim Jong Un said on New Years Day he is planning to exponentially raise number of nuclear warheads he has to strike against North Korea

- Is brain power a source of power? Yes
 - Country's desire to overcome illiteracy is a great source of power
- Peoplepower (formerly 'manpower') = source of power

Is Canada potentially powerful in terms of resources? Will the 21st century belong to Canada?

Geo-political sources of power

- Canadian territory is slightly larger than the US with total area of 9,976,140 sq. km (remember 10 million square kilometres = 62 million sq. miles)
- Most of the population does not live in the north
- **Location** = bordering the US, the North Atlantic Ocean, and the North Pacific
- **Topography** = cold in arctic and temperate in south, 2nd largest country in world
- Canada is known for having the greatest number of lakes in the world; there are an estimated 31,752 lakes in Canada that are larger than 3 square kilometres
- 9% of Canada's surface is covered in lakes
- More than 50% of the world's natural lakes are in Canada
- The second largest lake in the world (and the largest lake in Canada) is Lake Superior

Population

- Overpopulation? → Canada's pop. growth is approx 1.09%
 - Population is actually declining except for immigrants and refugees
- Number of children → birth rate of 13.74 births/1000 pop.
- Diseases, health of women → fertility rate (how many children the average woman has) of 1.83 children born (less than 2.0 which is replacement rate)
 - This has been going down since the 1980s
 - Note the 'baby boom' after World War 2 now retiring
- # of people = **39,393,175** (2023)
- Demographic profile → 0-14 years (21%), 15-64 years (67%), over 65 years (12%)
 - Fairly equal number of males and females
 - Most of population in working age
- Population density could be argued to be an asset because most of the population is in a thin strip of land near the US but could also argue as a disadvantage

Economic wealth

- One of the wealthiest countries in the world
- I.e. Canada has mineral resources (nickel, zinc, copper, gold, potash, silver, uranium), timber (softwood lumber), wildlife and park, natural gas, oil, fresh water
- In fact, Canada has the most freshwater in the world
- We are not the top richest country by GDP per capita
 - The top 10 richest countries by GDP per capita are (in order to most to least): Monaco, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Macao (China SAR), Ireland, Norway, United States, Denmark, Singapore
 - BUT in terms of fresh water and land, we are the richest

Canada's Hard Power Military Capabilities (2023)

- Nuclear weapons = 0; got rid of them in the 1980s

- Nuclear delivery systems, such as ICBMs, MIRVs, cruise missiles = 0
- Defence expenditures = \$15.5 billion (Cdn) = 1.33% of GDP (2022-23)
 - Going up slowly
- Males fit for military service = 6,647,513 (2023)
- Males who reach military age (17) annually = 151,590
- Prof expects us to know certain numbers

Intangible Sources of Power (ie. soft power)

- **Soft power:** “the ability to get desired outcomes because others want what you want” (Keohane and Nye, 1998) → Joseph S. Nye Jr. is one of America’s most famous diplomats
- Sources of soft power? Nye said: An “appeal to one’s culture or the ability to set the agenda through standards and institutions that shape the preferences of others.” (Keohane and Nye, 1998)
- Does Canada have soft power? Yes, a lot. Ie. What is the appeal of Canada’s culture abroad? Can you think of examples of Canada’s culture that are appealing to others?
 - A. Toronto (‘Little Switzerland’)
 - B. Multicultural ‘melting pot’
 - C. Multicultural ‘mosaic’
 - D. English and French speaking
 - E. Population is bilingual
- Leadership and decision making capability
 - As a confederation with a parliamentary democracy, leaders like Prime Ministers Jean Chretien, Stephen Harper, Justin Trudeau are perceived as powerful (less so is leader of the NDP because leader of NDP has never become Prime Minister; ie. Tom Mulcair)
- Diplomatic and strategic skills
 - Ie. Bill Graham, Lucien Bouchard, Stephane Dion, Justin Trudeau, Elizabeth May, NDP Leader Tom Mulcair, Bloc Quebecois Leader Gilles Duceppe, etc.)
 - Prof Simpson has met all these people except Stephen Harper
 - Is Prof Simpson’s ‘real-world’ experience outside the ‘ivory tower’ relevant to understanding the concept of ‘power’? Yes but spoken ‘stories’ are not on slides
 - Her spoken stories will not be tested
- Intelligence capabilities
 - Ie. CSIS, CSE, RCMP
 - Communication Security Establishment (CSE) provides the government with information technology security and foreign signals intelligence.
 - This is the new Canadian Centre for cyber security and home of the learning hub which runs cyber security and training close to Ottawa in Quebec
- Communication capabilities
 - Satellites, computers
 - Companies like now defunct Dell computer; ailing Blackberry telephone; the functioning Canada-Arm; and the world’s smallest functioning telescope deployed on a satellite
- Canadian belief in multilateralism
- Canadian belief in industry and strong work ethic
- Canada’s literacy rate: 97% of the Canadian population over age 15 can read and write but 48% have literacy skills below a high school level
- World literacy rate → young people learning more and more (age 15-24) but older people (65+) are not learning to read as much

- Countries with lowest literacy rates worldwide as of 2012 (lowest to highest): Burkina Faso, Mali, Chad, Ethiopia, Guinea, Benin, Sierra Leone, Haiti (2006-2013), Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Central African Republic, Nepal
- High literacy is an intangible source of power
- Which (not who) are the top 10 countries in the world with the highest literacy rate?
 - Is Canada on the list? No
 - Is North Korea on the list? Yes due to its propaganda and no information?
 - Is Latvia on the list? Yes
 - Is the US on the list? No

How to Rethink Your Power Resources with Guest #1 Moisey

- We will be tested on Kirsten Moisey's commentary
- Quiz #1 and midterm tests us on Moisey but not on Plekhov although Plekhov is more experienced diplomat

What is Power? (how to use power in your career)

- Power is about acquiring the ability to get things done
- Power isn't just for the top leaders, like Putin, Biden, and Trudeau – employees need to use power to do their jobs and feel engaged in their careers

How do you acquire more power?

- Watch Moisey as she takes stock of the power she wanted to have and how she assessed the amount of power she wanted early on in her career
- Many people can have power, but there are still different kinds of power
- As a young student, she has entered the world of Global Diplomacy to learn lessons from her attitude and approach

Associative power

- This can develop from having a network of people you can rely on to help build support for projects and initiatives that interest you
- **Disadvantage:** this source of power can easily be corroded if you rely on nepotism or favours from friends when the situation doesn't call for it

Referent power

- A kind of power that you derive from trust and commitment given to you by your colleagues because of who you are and how you are perceived over time so watch Moisey describe how she increased her referent power by ending out essays on topics she had written on – note that they trust her because she is interested in their topic
- **Examples:** celebrities and athletes are often used in marketing campaigns because they have referent power; they seem trustworthy
- **Disadvantage:** if the respect and trust afforded to you falters, you can easily lose it

Expertise power

- Comes from having skills or knowledge that few other people in an organization possess

Reward/Coercive power

- Comes from having ability to formally reward, punish, and influence people
- **Example:** a manager in a company who controls employee wages and promotions has coercive power

Legitimate Authority power

- Having a position of legitimate power, such as a political leader or manager

How to increase your power

- Be a team player; use your power to help other people in your organization who you work for reach their organizational goals (rather than your personal goals)
- Share your power to foster cooperation in your workplace
- Watch the size of your ego. Stay modest and humble
- Create a team of friends that will help you prevent yourself from making uninformed or unrealistic decisions

How do these steps help you gain power?

- Unbridled power wielded by leaders – who seek power as an end and as a means – but not for the sake of true human progress makes them reckless and self-absorbed. They become weaker not stronger

How to Become a Diplomat Working for Peace with Guest #1 Moisey

- Kristen Moisey is a policy officer with the non proliferation arms controls and disarmament department in Canada's ministry of Foreign Affairs
 - Was part of the inaugural youth champions for disarmament cohort with the #Youth4Disarmament initiative run by UNODA
 - Her passion stems from work and research in refugee camps in Greece & root causes of migration
 - As youth champion, she created and published *An Intersectional Guide to Disarmament* highlighting connections between disarmament and other social causes
- Demyan Plakhov is a published researcher, analyst, and writer on international relations, human rights, security; currently Senior Analyst and Advisor at Global Affairs Canada working on foreign policy and sanctions with respect to Russia's invasion of Ukraine
 - Previously worked on Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Mauritania
 - Worked at United Nations headquarters in New York, 5 different Canadian government departments, NATO association
 - His focus now is on Belarus
- Being bilingual is important
- Things can change overnight
- Uses very concise and short language in reports
 - 5 pages is the max Demyan has seen for his work
- Moisey found her roles by connecting with people, especially Canadian Disarmament forces, sending them her work, speaking as a youth rep at events, etc.
 - Networked a lot; knew she had a lot to offer
- Demyan Plakhov on crisis situations and moving from crisis to crisis → have to learn a lot of things really fast, finding your motivation, getting along with other departments
- Long work hours, working on weekends if there's a crisis, high divorce rate due to travel and stress among global affairs workers
- Requires really strong work life balance

- Keeping track of everywhere you live for security clearance purposes
- Being careful about what info you share on social media

Theoretical Lenses: Realism, Liberalism, Neo-realism, Liberal Internationalism

What is realism in International Relations (IR) theory?

- Classical realism
- **Basic assumptions of classical realism:**
 1. History teaches us that people are by nature sinful and wicked
 2. People lust for power instinctively; their natural urge is to dominate others
 - But what scientific evidence is there that humans - in the state of nature - lust for power?
 - What scientific evidence is there that humans - in our constructed world - lust for power?
 - Nature versus nurture?
 3. Humankind's lust for power determines the behaviour of all nations
 - Note the conceptual jump from the individual to the international level of analysis. What are the implications of such a leap?
 4. Humans/nations/the system are, and will forever be engaged, in an incessant competition for power
 - International politics is a struggle for power; "a war of all against all" (Thomas Hobbes, classical thinker during Civil War)
 5. Because everyone is constantly competing for power, the nature of the system was and will remain anarchical; there can be no overruling higher power. There can be no world government, like the UN
 6. The possibility always exists that a system of order could descend into chaos; so it is the obligation of each state and/or individual to defend itself
 - This is called self help
 - Furthermore, loyalty and reliability should never be assumed
 - Classical realists believe everyone should be able to defend themselves and their country
 7. Since all are struggling for power in an anarchical system, the primary obligation of every rational leader/state is to promote the "national interest."
 - What is the national interest? Generally considered to be the acquisition of 'power'
 8. What is power? Resources, capabilities, influence... hard power vs soft power.
 9. Because all states strive to maximise power, stability will result from maintaining a 'balance of power.' Balances of power or groups of alliances will naturally result - or can be constructed by diplomats - so as to ensure stability and prevent war
 10. Never entrust the task of self protection to international law, international organisations (like the UN) or other powers. It is the responsibility of statesmen to ensure their own state's security

Who were some classical realists?

- Thucydides
 - First classical realist; 2000 years before BC
 - Wrote *The Peloponnesian War* → very apt right now for Russia vs US and NATO fighting for small area of land, Ukraine (in the peloponnesian war, fighting Sparta and Athens over Crete and Minoan Islands)

- Thomas Hobbes
- Niccolo Machiavelli
 - The more you read of him, the more you realize he was not really a realist
- E.H. Carr
- Hans Morgenthau → started to write about ethics after the Vietnam war

Who was Hans Morgenthau? Classical Realist Principles

1. "Society (IR) is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature."
 - If you meet someone who is "Morgenthauian", they're a classical realist
 - Their principles are rooted in the *politics among nations: the struggle for power and peace* book
2. "To understand IR we must ask ourselves what the rational alternatives are from which a statesman must choose... he acts in a rational manner because we must assume that statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power."
3. "The evidence of history bears this out. Nations act in terms of national interest. States always seek to acquire more power."

Who are some 'realist' politicians and advisors?

- Reinhold Niebuhr *The Children of Light and Darkness*
- George Kennan → later rejected realism
- Henry Kissinger – politician and diplomat and realist
 - President-elect Donald Trump took advice from one of the more illustrious – if controversial – officials from the past: Henry Kissinger
 - Then as a 93-year-old, Kissinger served as secretary of state and national security adviser under presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. He was the architect of the US outreach to China in the 1970s. And helped negotiate the Paris Peace Accords that ended the Vietnam War

How useful is realism to explaining Canadian behaviour on the world stage?

1. Realists would argue small states like Canada seek to join balances of power against adversaries. I.e. Canada strives to establish military alliances like NORAD and NATO
2. Individual decision-makers will act to accumulate power on behalf of Canada. I.e. Pierre Trudeau expanded Canada's sovereignty over the Arctic
- On the other hand, realism doesn't explain Canada's commitment to the UN and nuclear disarmament
 - It doesn't explain actions of Canadian statesmen like Secretary of External Affairs Hported the Irish Resolution and supported the UN
 - It does not explain Pearson (peacekeeping) and Pierre Trudeau (Trudeau Peace Initiative)
 - We will consider this during our Cuban missile crisis lecture
3. Realism doesn't explain Canada's decision to acquire nuclear weapons – and not to acquire the actual nuclear warheads 1957-1963 – and Canada's decision to disarm its nuclear weapons (1968-1984)
 - Canada actually had a large nuclear arsenal between 1957-1963 and got rid of them by 1984
- Realism doesn't explain the tendency to act as a moral watch-dog, to be the conscience of the world, to espouse 'liberal internationalist' or Pearsonian principles

The Security Dilemma: A Classical Realist or a Liberal Concept?

- Defensive realists (such as Kenneth Waltz) contend that the utmost importance to the state is self-preservation. In conjunction with an anarchical system, states are encouraged to maintain balanced policies. Because of the security dilemma, aggressive policy can often backfire
- Offensive realists (such as John Mearsheimer) argue that states are not deterred by the security dilemma. Moreover, the structure of the international system provides strong incentives to gain power relative to a rival
- This concept was used by realists and idealists
- In foreign policy, states can exercise their judgement and are not entirely constrained by the international structure.
 - “The perspective of nations differs with their obligations, their geography, their history and their power. No alliance can perfectly reconcile the goal of all of its members, particularly if one ally has world-wide responsibilities while the others focus their attention on regional or national concerns. But the minimum condition for effectiveness is that the requirements of the alliance should not clash with the deepest aspirations of one or more of the partners.” – Henry Kissinger

Idealism

- Born in the 1920s, before classical realism
- Albert Einstein was an idealist
 - “Imagination is more important than knowledge. For knowledge is limited, whereas imagination embraces the entire world, stimulating progress, giving birth to evolution.”
- First IR Department at the University of Aberystwyth in Wales was established in 1919

Basic assumptions of idealists

- Human nature is essentially good or people are capable of cooperating, collaborating, helping each other
- Do they believe in ‘anarchy’ and ‘sovereignty’? Maybe yes, maybe no
 - They do believe cooperation is possible... we can become re civilised
- Human progress is possible because humans want to be good and cooperate
 - Humankind can become more civilized
- If there are violent wars – or human progress is stymied – this is principally because of
 - a) Misperception
 - b) Misunderstanding
 - c) Human institutions are poorly organized, and/or
 - d) Structural arrangements need reform or radical change
- War is not inevitable – true evil is not a product of humankind’s evil nature but a product of hyper-nationalism, misunderstanding, misperception, and human folly
- It is possible for humankind to erect and reform international institutions that will make war and armed violence less likely and that will encourage more human collaboration
- International order is obtainable through legal processes, such as international law, mediation and arbitration.
 - Just as domestic society can be governed by cooperative rules and regulations, international affairs can become more regulated through the creation of int’l institutions such as the World Court, the International Criminal Court, and the Law of the Sea
 - International institutions such as NATO that focus on Security Sector Reform can bring about peace in developing areas, like Afghanistan
 - Idealism attracts people interested in international law
- Even the spread of nuclear and conventional weapons can be halted by arms control and disarmament agreements such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation (NPT) Treaty and the Land Mines Treaty

- Argue that the Land Mines Treaty prevented the spread of land mines

Is there a tradition of Canadian idealism – now called Liberal Internationalism?

- Howard Green
- John Diefenbaker
- Lester Pearson
- Pierre Elliott Trudeau
- Joe Clark
- Brian Mulroney
- Lloyd Axworthy
- Jean Chretien
- Justin Trudeau
- Kirsten Moisey (guest lecture) → liberal internationalist
- Damyen Plakhov (guest lecture) → realist

Why is it more challenging to be an idealist or liberal internationalist than a classical realist?

- History texts demonstrate a long history of violence, competition, anarchy, and war
- Newspapers and television focus upon violence, war, and competition ('if it bleeds, it leads')
- Peace, the lack of force and the absence of violence are not interesting – the fact that most of the world cooperated every day is not interesting
 - I.e. people would rather write about war than peace
- It is easier to think of 'worst-case scenarios' because it is a learned human trait to prepare for the worst.
 - Smart people are pessimists who are pleasantly surprised by how well things turn out
 - Dumb people are Pollyannas who are taken surprised by calamities and disasters
- It is often easier to blame disastrous outcomes, like violence and war, on 'human nature' than to prove that they were due to misunderstanding, miscommunication, and poorly-structured institutions
 - I.e. it is easier to believe 'we won the Cold War' than to show 'we all lost the Cold War'
 - It is quite difficult to prove that misperception, misunderstanding, miscommunication, confused ideologies and skewed images led to arms races, arms spirals, security dilemmas, huge debt, and mistaken outcomes
- Professor Simpson also thinks students who are idealists are naturally attracted to domestic politics, especially law school, and not international politics or international security (formerly called strategic studies)
 - The students with the higher marks in 4th year tend to go into Law, Teaching, and Business, not graduate studies in IR
 - Perhaps the attraction of going to law school or teacher's college, earning a steady income, doing interesting work, and making the world a better place triumphs?
 - Also there are not many jobs for women in the Canadian Forces, the Department of National Defence, and flying fighter aircraft

Complex Neo-Realism

What is Complex Neo-Realism?

- Canada is a principal power or foremost power due to our immense resources, our superior geography, our membership in the G-7 (now the G-8) and our close relationship to the hegemon, the United States
- John Kirton & David Dewitt
- *Canada as a Principal Power*

- During the Cold War, it was a 'bipolar' world
 - Now it is a 'unipolar' or 'multipolar' world in which the US is still the 'hegemon'
 - Canada is a middle-power within the American hegemonic system - just as Chechnya and Syria are part of Russia's hegemonic system - and China governs over Taiwan, Tibet, and North Korea
- With other like-minded nations, Canada always tried to preserve the American system of 'hegemony'
 - Our leaders may not consciously realize we seek to preserve American hegemony (ie. Mulroney during NAFTA negotiations) but if they don't (ie. Broadbent, Layton), they fall by the wayside

Canada as a Middlepower?

- If you use the term, middle power, does that mean you are an idealist, classical realist, liberal-internationalist, or complex realist?
- Generally, the term middle-power is 'neutral' and does not tell you whether its user is a realist, liberal, or believer in Great Powers (hegemony)
- Prof advises using the term middle power, superpower, and small power liberally (a lot)
 - It does not tell listeners what your underlying assumptions are – which can be an advantage

Complex Neo-Realism

- Complex neo-realism is based on neo-realism (an important IR theory in the United States, especially among diplomats)
- Neo-realism = 'structural realism'
- Kenneth Waltz (structural realism = neo-realism)
 - Some neo-realists in the U.S. call themselves Waltzians in honour of Kenneth Waltz
 - Most call themselves 'realists' including Waltz himself
- Kenneth Waltz founded 'neo-realism' which has superseded classical realism
 - Waltz is widely seen to be the most famous IR scholar after Morgenthau
 - "He's the most important international relations theorist of the past 50 years," says John Mearsheimer, and international relations theorist at the University of Chicago, a Waltz devotee and a famous IR theorist
 - Waltz died in summer 2013
 - Wrote many classical books

Basic assumptions of structural realists (Waltzians)

- Structural realists should focus on understanding the system's structure, not on individual behaviours of world leaders
- Here Waltz became more complicated. He wrote that the structure of the system affects or influences the interacting 'units' within it
- I.e. a bipolar structure will affect each nation's behaviour and all outcomes
 - Outcomes, such as major events and final decisions, are the product of the interaction of the units (nation-states) and the structure of the system
- Billiard Ball Analogy: think of it like a pool table
 - The pool table is the system
 - The balls are nation-states
- Waltz argued that individual leaders are just part of nation-state units and are not at all important because over the long-term, the behaviour of the nation-state will reflect systemic-level constraints

- Sure, individuals may be motivated themselves by moral, altruistic, or cooperative motives - but these don't matter because in the long run, the system ensures that the person's state will act according to systemic-level tenets
- This means "rogue states" will find that their leaders are eventually eliminated and they will learn to behave according to neo-realist principles
- "International structure emerges from the interaction of states and then constrains them from taking certain actions while propelling them toward others." – Waltz
 - No overarching government or authority → System constraints theme
- Stability will dominate – chaos is not to be confused with anarchy
- Most importantly, there will always be anarchy and the onset of international institutions to ameliorate anarchy simply cannot be trusted to defeat anarchy
 - Note Waltz often confused anarchy with real chaos and with real battle
- As the primary actors in the international system, states must act according to the principle of self-interest or 'self-help.' All states (and humans?) must and will seek to ensure their own survival through self-help
 - The lessons of World War 2 (fighting Nazism) and 9/11 (fighting terrorism) are key events for neo-Waltzians or Structural Realists
- He argued 'capabilities' determine the position of states in the system
 - The 'distribution of capabilities' defines the structure of the system
- He assumed there is really only one measure of capability - and that is military power
 - He thought nuclear weapons were and are the ultimate capability
 - Now, Waltzians argue that capabilities can also be more → economic capabilities, tech, etc but Waltz thought it was just nuclear capabilities
- States can try to increase their other capabilities (ie. economic capabilities) and they can move to strengthen or join alliances
 - But the balance of power is essentially dictated by the balance of nuclear weapons so alliances or countries without nuclear weapons are weak – and must be advised to acquire their own nuclear stockpiles
- Because the United States and the Soviet Union have a surfeit of nuclear weapons, relative to other nation-states, it was (and would remain?) a bipolar world
 - Small states would join one or the other alliance, predicted Waltz

Can Waltz's theory explain Canada's behaviour?

- Canada is a middle power or small power in a multipolar/unipolar world
 - It is advisable for as many states as possible to obtain nuclear weapons or whatever types of weapons are needed to assert dominance
- Canada chose not to acquire nuclear weapons, therefore Waltz does not devote a single page or footnote to Canada in his books

LESSON 2

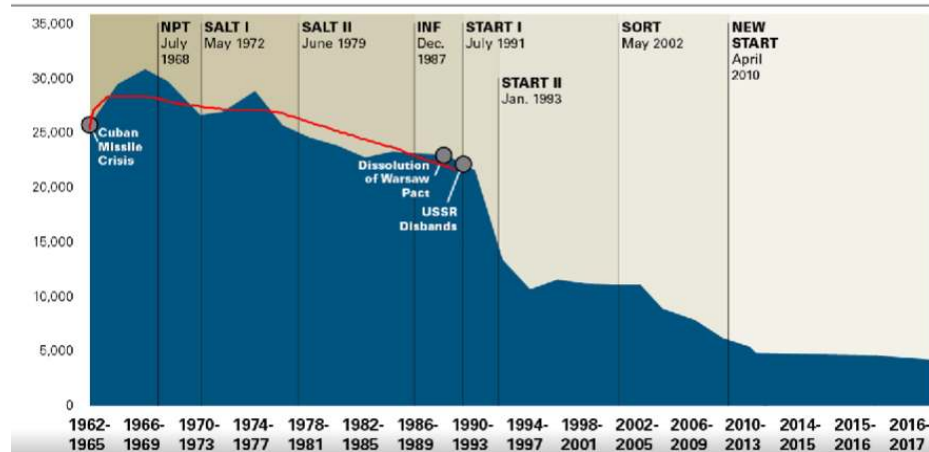
A Violent Legacy of Warfare: Nuclear Weapons

Nuclear Weapons

- Onset of cold war resulted in a sudden drop in nuclear weapons
 - Still, today there are thousands of nuclear weapons

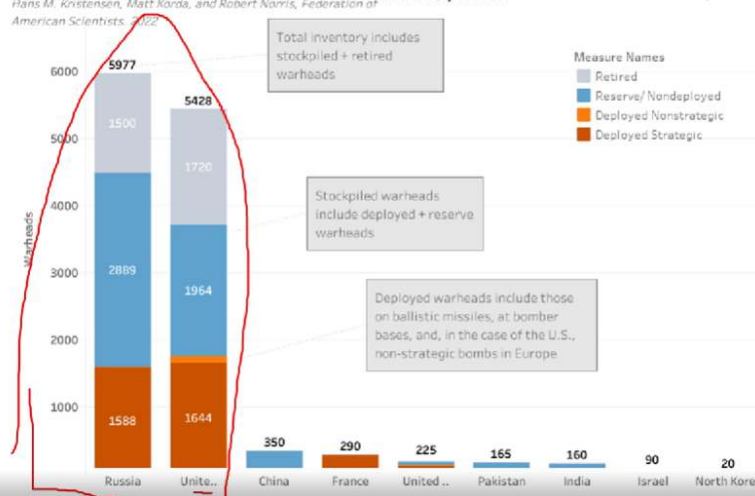
U.S. Nuclear Weapons Stockpile, 1962-2017

Since the late-1960s, the United States and Russia have signed a series of nuclear arms treaties that have contributed to steep cuts in their active and inactive nuclear warhead stockpiles.



- 95% of world's nuclear weapons belong to Russia and the United States
- There are 9 powers that have declared nuclear weapon use/seem to have a large nuclear arsenal
 - Russia, United States, China, France, United Kingdom, Pakistan, India, Israel, North Korea
 - Israel has a secret arsenal, of approximately 90 nuclear weapons

Estimated Global Nuclear Warhead Inventories, 2022

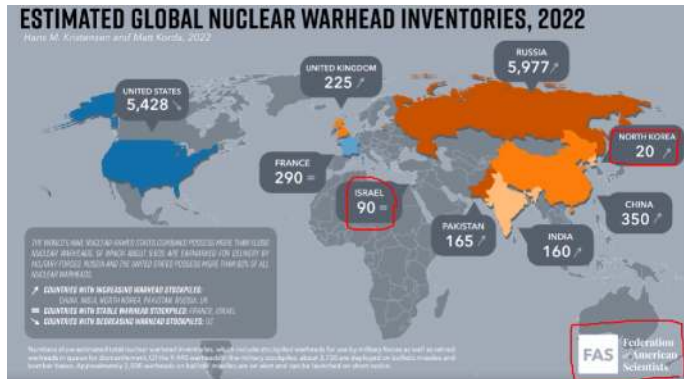


2021 Estimated Global Nuclear Warhead Inventories

- The world's nuclear-armed states possess a combined total of nearly 13,080 nuclear warheads; more than 90% belong to Russia and the United States. Approximately 9,600 warheads are in military service, with the rest awaiting dismantlement
 - United States: 5,550
 - Russia: 6,257
 - United Kingdom: 225
 - France: 290
 - Israel: 90
 - Pakistan: 165
 - India: 156
 - China: 350

- North Korea: 40-50

2022 Estimated Global Nuclear Warhead Inventories

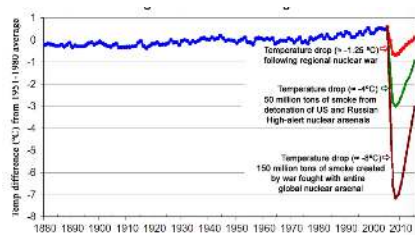


- Federation of American scientists is considered to be credible and reputable
 - United States: 5428
 - United Kingdom: 225
 - France: 290
 - Israel: 90
 - Pakistan: 165
 - Russia: 5977
 - North Korea: 20
 - India: 160
 - China: 350

“The Bomb”

- “The bomb” is popular jargon meaning “nuclear weapons”
- “Nato and the bomb” —> book prof wrote
- Hiroshima day (august 6) is another popular term still used today
 - Also refers to nagasaki day
- The nukemap or the missilemap refer to popular websites that show you the impact of different types of bombs on cities, like your own
 - <https://nuclearsecrecy.com/nukemap/>

Global Warming vs. Global Cooling from Nuclear War



- Global warming since 1880 (*in blue*) compared to predicted temperature drops from nuclear war
- If there was a regional nuclear war (eg. india vs pakistan), then the world's temperature would drop precipitously, by at least 1.25 degrees Celsius (*red*)
- During the cold war, if there had been a larger nuclear war, with nuclear weapons between the united states and Russia, then temperature would have been a significant drop (*green*)

- 50 million tons of smoke from detonation of US and Russian high-alert nuclear arsenals
- This is using all of the global nuclear arsenal, minus 8 degrees (*brown*)
 - 150 million tons of smoke created by war fought with entire global nuclear arsenal

What would the world look like after a large holocaust?



-
- Smoke from fires would rise over the northern hemisphere; making it cold and dark at the earth's surface

India-Pakistan nuclear war

- This is just as an illustration
- If 100 hiroshima-size weapons (equivalent to all the bombs used in WW2 or 0.05% of deployed U.S-Russian weapons) were used
- What would happen?
 - 5 million tons of smoke would rise 50km above cloud level into the stratosphere
 - Global temperatures would drop to little ice-age levels; significant reduction in precipitation and 25-40% of ozone destroyed at mid-latitudes, 50-70% destroyed at northern high latitudes
- 2 years later:
 - Still very cold

What should we be doing?

- Up to your opinion, you must decide yourself
- Professor stays optimistic by taking action

Hiroshima/Nagasaki 1945: Tactical Nuke Use

76th anniversary of the use of atomic weapons over Japan

- This year we commemorate the 76th anniversary of the use of atomic weapons over Japan
- In 1945, a 14-kiloton uranium bomb exploded at Hiroshima on Aug 6, and a 20-kiloton plutonium bomb on Aug 9 was dropped over Nagasaki
- This killed between 129,000 and 226,000 people, most of whom were civilians
- Gusha: people who are very old now if they survived, last remaining people
- Debates continue to this day over the impact of these bombings on the Japanese surrender that ended the Second World War
 - Not in doubt: tens of thousands of Japanese civilians were intentionally targeted, and slaughtered or maimed from the two small nuclear detonations
- In its 1996 opinion, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) determined: "there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control"
 - International court decision relates back to idea of continuing to disarm in good faith

Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (CNANW)

- Professor Simpson is a board member here

- She's also president of Canadian Peace Research Association (CPRA)
 - She also contributes as a board member to the Canadian pugwash group
- CNANW's 17 member organisations include faith communities, professional groups, peace research and women's organisations - all of which work in various ways toward the abolition of nuclear weapons

Nuclear warheads today

- Today, nearly 13,000 nuclear warheads still remain, more than 90% belong to Russia and the United States
 - Exact figure is 13,500 - but professor underestimates instead of overestimating (since you can get attacked by people for overestimating)
- Average explosive yields are many times the destructive capacity of the bombs dropped over Japan in 1945

Memorials

- Across the world, commemorative events are held to remind us of the terrible cost and ongoing dangers of nuclear arms races and the potential impact of even a limited nuclear missile exchange
- Yet, the 9 official and unofficial nuclear-armed states are intent on retaining, rebuilding, and modernising their warheads
- This year, the hands of the doomsday clock point at 100 seconds to midnight, a symbolic reminder of how close our global community is to environmental catastrophe and human annihilation
 - We must collectively push our governments forward to take action - no excuses
 - Midnight: global apocalypse, end of the world as we know it, nuclear winter, end of all species

Vladimir Putin

- President Vladimir Putin's frequent references to possible use of nuclear weapons has led to apathy - not to protests
- People around the world are not protesting against nuclear war but staying very quiet - not saying very much due to fear? Or due to not knowing much about nuclear weapons as they are a legacy of the last century

No first use; de-alerting; nuclear warheads; launch on warning

- Many types of risk reduction measures - including the adoption of no first use of nuclear weapons; de-alerting nuclear warheads; and the end of launch on warning policies - will be critical to immediately dial down existing nuclear dangers
- These measures are not substitutes, however, for deep cuts in nuclear arsenals and the full elimination of nuclear stockpiles

Canada

- Here in Canada, the government is not engaging in discussion nor participating as observers at the UN negotiations on the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW)
 - This is a new treaty which came about in 2017
- Canada is not undertaking diplomatic negotiations toward a proposed nuclear weapons convention (NWC) that would achieve the comprehensive elimination of nuclear weapons
- The idea of a NWC originated in Canada, but it is not supported by the government
- The Canadian government is a member of NATO and must support nuclear deterrence (because NATO does)

- We need to re-establish nuclear disarmament and arms control as a Canadian foreign policy priority (esp under pierre eliot trudeau)
- At a minimum, there should be more parliamentary debate and the onset of parliamentary committee hearings on Canada's role in advancing disarmament
- Professor simpson has argued for 25 years that canada must retake a leadership role within NATO toward creating the conditions for a world free of nuclear weapons and Canada should spearhead a comprehensive re-examination of NATO's reliance on nuclear deterrence
- There needs to be a rejection of NATO's outmoded strategic concept, and the rejection of any modernization of nuclear weapons and their carrier systems

Abolition

- Abolition will never happen in a strategic vacuum; therefore the elimination of nuclear weapons will require a durable security framework based upon the principles of common security and sustainable peace in order to prevent future nuclear breakouts and arms races, including in space
- Europeans are encouraging their governments to take lead roles as part of the stockholm initiative (canada is part of this too)
 - This is a multilateral platform formed in 2019 that is working to more strongly support the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons (NPT)
- The japanese hibakusha who survived the Aug 6 and 9 atomic bombings in 1945 remind us - as does Canadian Setsuko Thurlow- that another future is possible
- In the words of beatrice fihn, executive director of the international campaign to abolish nuclear weapons: "we represent those who refuse to accept nuclear weapons as a fixture to our world, those who refuse to have their fares bound up in a few lines of launch code. Ours is the only reality that is possible. The alternative is unthinkable".

Nuclear Weapon Proliferation

PROBLEM: spread of nuclear weapons in a multipolar world: nuclear weapon proliferation

- Despite the end of the cold war, many security experts think that a nuclear exchange today is more likely due to variables such as:
 - Accidental nuclear war
 - Misperception and miscommunication
 - Doctrines of preemptive nuclear warfare
- Given there were many past near-accidents and failure of communication during the bipolar era, a multipolar world with many nuclear powers may increase the likelihood of nuclear exchanges
 - No longer a bipolar world (russia vs. United States and their allies)
 - Because of entry of middle and great powers such as china - its considered to be a multipolar world

PROBLEM: divide between NWS vs NNWS

- Some leaders of the nuclear weapon states (NWS) brandish these weapons without realising the humanitarian consequences of a nuclear accident or war
- While opposed to the spread of nuclear weapons, the non-nuclear weapon states (NNWS) are increasingly frustrated with the NWS because of their relatively slow pace of nuclear disarmament (not moving fast enough)

PROBLEM: 5 state parties are not part of NPT

- It is uplifting to recall that more countries have adhered to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) than any other arms limitation and disarmament agreement
- When the NPT was originally put forward in 1968, experts predicted 25-30 nuclear weapon states within 20 years
- Nearly 50 years later, only 5 states are not parties to the NPT - india, israel, pakistan and south sudan
- The 5th state, the democratic people's republic of korea (DPRK) acceded to the NPT in 1985 but never came into compliance, and announced its withdrawal

PROBLEM: spread of nuclear weapons into space, oceans and under arctic ice

- In addition to the NPT treaty's review conferences every 5 years, many international and national conferences are focused on the threat from nuclear weapons. They are spreading into space; into oceans; and under arctic ice

PROBLEM: ballistic missile defense and arms races in space

- Experts are concerned about the implications of the U.S Ballistic missile defense project for russian insecurity, about China's nuclear defence posture and about space debris

PROBLEM: canada may not be able to say "no" to BMD project

- Canada could be asked again (round 2) to join the U.S Ballistic Missile Defense project which has implications for Russian insecurity (and Iran).

PROBLEM: spread of nuclear weapons into space, oceans and under Arctic ice

- Nuclear weapons on american and russian submarines operating under arctic ice are also seen as a problem

PROBLEM: nuclear accidents and nuclear debris in the vulnerable arctic

- Canadian pugwash and prof simpson have held many meetings on denuclearizing the arctic in order to make it into a new arctic nuclear weapon free zone (NWFZ)
- Prof argues we should not have nuclear weapons in the arctic

PROBLEM: P5 can exert veto power in the UNGA

- The U.S., UK and the Soviet Union emerged as victors from World War II and the NPT enshrines their right to openly possess nuclear weapons.
- They possessed nuclear weapons at the time the NPT was signed so the Treaty acknowledges their nuclear status but it is not a formal approval for them holding nuclear weapons.
- The "Big Three" along with France and China are the five permanent members (P5) of the UN Security Council (UNSC) armed with veto power in the UN General Assembly (UNGA).
 - P5 does not include others with nuclear weapons such as north korea
- (Is this the real cause?)
 - When Pakistan, India and North Korea tested their nuclear weapons, there was no talk in the changed climate of diplomatic negotiations about adding these countries to the P5 and giving them veto power.

PROBLEM: P5 can exert veto power in the UNGA

- North Korea fired long-range rocket in 2016 which critics say are tests of banned missile technology. It announced it conducted a nuclear test of its first 'hydrogen bomb' in 2016. In 2022, Kim Jong Un is threatening to expand

PROBLEM: Article VI (6) will never be achieved

- The NPT process is deadlocked (people meet but they don't reach any kind of agreement) because of the continued existence of the nuclear weapon arsenals of the P5. The U.S. and Russia have the most nuclear weapons but bilateral arms control negotiations concerning their relatively larger arsenals are going too slowly, according to the NNWS. They repeatedly insist on honoring Article VI of the 1968 NPT treaty

promising general and complete nuclear disarmament. This Article provides that “cessation of the nuclear arms race” is to be achieved at an “early date” through good-faith negotiations.

PROBLEM: NATO’s strategic concept enshrines nuclear use by NATO allies

- Most importantly, NATO’s Strategic Concept, which is a non-binding policy document, describes U/S. nuclear weapons as “the supreme guarantee of the Allies” and French and UK nuclear weapons as contribution to their “overall deterrence and security.” The Strategic Concept describes an “appropriate mix of nuclear and conventional capabilities” as a core element of its strategy and emphasizes that “as long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance.”

PROBLEM: mounting national arsenals and modernization

- There is confusion and disappointment about negative and positive security assurances. Negative security assurances permit the U.S. to threaten North Korea with nuclear weapons as the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) is a Nuclear Weapon State that is not a Party to the NPT.
- Positive security assurances reassure Japan that the U.S. has extended a formal security guarantee to Japan and the U.S. is committed to defending Japan with nuclear weapons in the event it suffers from a nuclear attack – therefore positive security assurances mean Japan will not need to develop its own nuclear arsenal.
 - Japan is the closest out of all the countries to developing its own nuclear arsenal

PROBLEM: conference for disarmament is deadlocked

- Moreover, there has been essentially no progress in the Conference for Disarmament negotiations in Geneva for 17 years.
- A new Open-Ended Working-Group (OEWG) is meeting in Geneva at the Conference on Disarmament.
- Will Canada vote for it next month?
- The NPT has many loopholes despite additional measures taken to strengthen it including the Additional Protocol. Merely the fact it almost condones Iran’s pursuit of peaceful energy helps to undermine it.
- The NPT may not be able to cope with North Korea, Syria and others’ mounting arsenals outside the NPT framework either.

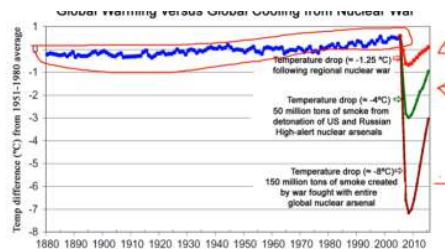
PROBLEM: sub-state actors could blow up loose nooks and dirty bombs

- The Global Partnership Program tried to control the theft of Russian nuclear materials to sell on the black market as the Russian mafia. It was cancelled by Putin and poorly-paid Russian soldiers continue to be a problem

PROBLEM: the nuclear genie is out of the bottle

- The number of trained physicists and skilled nuclear workers in Russia is also a long-term concern resulting in billions spent by the U.S. and Canada on the Global Partnership program.
- According to Senator Richard Lugar, *more such partnerships are needed worldwide* concerning other nuclear powers like India and Pakistan.

PROBLEM: tactical nuclear war would cause nuclear winter and famine



PROBLEM: india-pakistan nuclear war

- Any tactical exchange between other small powers

- 100 Hiroshima-size weapons -- equivalent to all the bombs used in World War II -- or 0.05% of deployed U.S.-Russian weapons were used...
- Then 5 million tons of smoke would rise 50 km above cloud level into the stratosphere
- Global temperatures would drop to little Ice-Age levels.
- 25-40% of ozone destroyed at mid-latitudes and 50-70% destroyed at northern high latitudes

PROBLEM: Sub-state actors could use loose nukes, dirty bombs and nuclear waste

- Small amounts of uranium or plutonium could be concealed in a dirty bomb smuggled across the Canada-U.S. border into NYC or Washington causing millions of people to flee big cities
- There is no solution for what to do with nuclear waste which will remain dangerous for thousands of years. Until glass verification becomes cheaper or methods of building solid containers that lasts hundreds of thousands of years are found, nuclear waste must be stored above ground -- in heavy water receptacles that surround dozens of nuclear power plants --- and these could be soft targets of a terrorist threat or they could be attacked by invading conventional armies.
- Canada's proposal to store low-level and intermediate-level waste in a Deep Geologic Repository from Lake Huron was widely opposed. Hardly anybody heard outside Ontario about two proposals to bury radioactive waste about 1.6 kilometres and now 46 kms away from one of the Great Lakes, Lake Huron. Now the proposal is to bury all of Canada's nuclear waste in Teeswater, 46 kms from the Bruce reactor. This will be decided next year. Below is a picture of the Yucca Mountain, Texas proposal that was rejected by President Obama but is now being reconsidered.
- Critics of the two sites are arguing it is undemocratic that millions of people are not even aware of the planned scope of the project, despite its implications for local, national, and international security

PROBLEM: Dismantled nuclear weapons create waste and are dangerous

- The third pillar of the NPT advocates the peaceful use of nuclear energy. But the right to develop a nation's own nuclear energy source creates incentives to build nuclear bombs for deterrent or prestige purposes. In the long-run, something will need to be done with the nuclear waste from dismantled nuclear bombs and defunct nuclear power plants.

PROBLEM: Cost of nuclear weapons modernization and arms races is in billions of dollars

- The fact that the U.S. is modernizing its nuclear weapons -including its B-61 bombs - at great expense indicates that the NWS still believe nuclear weapons are useful.
- Russia has threatened to deploy nuclear weapons in Kaliningrad if the U.S. modernizes the bombers carrying B-61 bombs in Europe. The cost of modernization is in the tens of billions.

PROBLEM: Russia and US are engaged in arms races in the Arctic and Europe

- Similarly Russia is revitalizing its Arctic bases and refusing to negotiate about its advantage in tactical nuclear weapons. It is deploying nuclear weapons in the Arctic and dumping waste.
- The U.S. State Department maintains that Russia is not willing to negotiate tactical nuclear weapons in Europe either. Russians at the UN maintain the BMD issue is at the heart of the problem.

PROBLEM: Nuclear Weapons are proliferating

- China is building a modernized strategic triad.
- Other countries, like France and Israel refuse to talk publicly about their nuclear arsenals.
- Israel's policy of nuclear ambiguity about its bomb in the basement threatens the NPT regime.

Nuclear Proliferation in this Century

Nuclear non-proliferation regime is failing and we are entering a 'nuclear jungle' with no rules

- The NPT treaty is the cornerstone (like cornerstone of a house) of the nuclear non-proliferation regime. One of its principles – to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology – is highly valued.
- Often its supporters express deep concerns about supporting “cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy”. But most are willing to work diligently to support the NPT because its overall goals are to achieve nuclear disarmament.
- As Canadian Ambassador (retired) Douglas Roche says, “if we did not have the NPT, we would enter a nuclear jungle with no rules at all.”

NPT Review Conference failed in August 2022

- The 2010 NPT Review Conference agreed by consensus on the need to develop more rules and regulations concerning nuclear weapons.
- But progress since 2010 (2015, 2022) has been painstakingly slow.
- Even its proposal to hold a conference on banning Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) in the Middle East was a huge stumbling block.
- The 2026 RevCon is likely to fail and the world will have no nuclear arms control at all. (unless russians come together with americans, which is unlikely)

Nuclear Proliferation in this Century : No consensus seems possible

- One of the main sticking points has been the failure to hold the Helsinki conference on a WMD in the Middle East.
- As no progress was made over five years, Egypt was blamed by the US, UK and Canada and they refused to sign a consensus document in May 2015

Nuclear Proliferation in this Century : Too many failed treaties

- The NNWS states are increasingly affronted by Israel’s failure to disarm its nuclear weapons and sign the NPT.
- North Korea is completely outside the NPT.
- Syria and Saudi Arabia may develop their own arsenals.
- As the NPT was further weakened in 2022, the NPT lost much more power. It may soon join the failed Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty and weaker treaties like the Land Mines treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and the Biological and Toxic Weapons Conventiona (BTWC/BWC).

Nuclear Proliferation in this Century: NAM and NAC no longer try – everyone is focused on Ukraine

- Meanwhile the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the New Agenda Coalition (the NAC) and many NGO organizations are proposing all sort of ways to overcome the underlying conflict including the Humanitarian Pledge.
- These ways are being ignored by the NWS including the NATO allies and Russia.
- Focus is instead on nuclear weapon states

Nuclear Proliferation in this Century: 3 Pillars are crumbling and there is vast disagreement

- As we enter the nuclear jungle over the next few years, states may decide to break-out of their non-nuclear status and pursue nuclear stockpiles with relative impunity. We are entering a nuclear jungle without rules and without regulations. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference (RevCon) ended in 2015 and 2022 with vast disagreement on all three important pillars. These are the three pillars of the NPT:

1. combatting nuclear proliferation
2. encouraging nuclear disarmament
3. pursuing the peaceful use of nuclear energy

Nuclear Proliferation in this Century: Nuclear Threats have become clear and direct

- It's as the legitimized nuclear-armed states (NWS) -- may decide to threaten -- or not to threaten -- some kind of nuclear retaliation through the NPT's legal framework. They can do so in veiled terms as part of their alliance membership in NATO. And they can make explicit threats as Russian President Vladimir Putin has been doing since Feb. 24 2022.

Pre-emptive nuclear use is a definite possibility by the NWS and has become more likely now

- The NWS can still threaten preemptive nuclear war in response to a non-conventional attack, like a biological, chemical or terrorist attack. Vladimir Putin is threatening preemptive nuclear war and saying that Russia will use nuclear weapons in response to a terrorist attack, possibly.

Modernization takes money away from other infrastructure spending in US and Russia

- The U.S. and Russia are modernizing their nuclear arsenals at great expense.
- According to the U.S. Congressional Budget Office, current U.S. stockpile plans will cost \$355 billion over the decade, including about \$76 billion for modernization.
- Guy Roberts, the US Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons ensured modernization would take place – through the Nuclear Posture Review which was put in place in 2017-2019

Attackers would be annihilated

- There is no question that if a rogue state, like North Korea were to launch a nuclear-armed intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) against Seattle, for example, the attacker would be annihilated in a conventional and/or nuclear retaliatory strike by the US.
- No matter what non-proliferation arrangements the NPT makes in legal terms based on the UN Charter or the International Court of Justice (ICJ) rulings, in the event of a threatened nuclear escalation, an adversary that uses nuclear weapons, like North Korean leader Kim Jong-Un will be existentially and figuratively annihilated from the planet.

Would Moscow be annihilated?

- We don't know right now.

The wielders of the ultimate deterrent make their threats known behind the scenes

- The wielders of the ultimate deterrent – the U.S., UK, and France – do not officially announce their extermination intentions and capabilities but they do make their threats known behind the scenes.
- To give only one publicly-reported example, Richard Armitage, then the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, in the days after the 9/11 terror attacks, issued a deterrent threat to Pakistan's intelligence director.
- According to Pakistan's Pervez Musharraf, then President of Pakistan, "The intelligence director told me that [Armitage] said, 'Be prepared to be bombed. Be prepared to go back to the Stone Age.'"

Hostile states seek nuclear weapons for many reasons including deterrence, cost, prestige and status

- Nuclear weapons are becoming smaller, more precise and more useable. Countries like India, Pakistan and Israel see them as necessary for many reasons. They value deterrence and the threat to be able to undertake precise first- or second-strikes.

- Conventional weapons and professional armies are seen as necessary but for a long time, nuclear weapons have been seen as a relatively cheaper form of deterrence.

States will seek nuclear weapons for many reasons including cost, prestige, status

- For example. Pakistan sought nuclear weapons to protect itself against India and for prestige. India sought them against China and Pakistan. China sought them against U.S. and Russia...and so the cycle continues. One of the chief causes of the problem stems from shared beliefs about nuclear weapons .

Nuclear weapons are perceived as a credible nuclear deterrent – they could be usable

- Beliefs about the credibility of nuclear deterrence doctrine are spreading. At NATO HQs, diplomats from Europe and North America refrain from debating nuclear deterrence. They favour the idea that nuclear weapons must remain a “core component” of NATO doctrine.

Nuclear taboo is the underlying realization that nuclear weapons cannot be used

- The nuclear taboo refers to the idea that leaders will not want to go down in history as having resorted to using nuclear weapons. They are seen as credible weapons of last resort. But they can't be used unless a state's survival is threatened.
- However, Russian President Vladimir Putin floated the possibility in December 2022 that Russia may formally change its military doctrine of not being the first to use nuclear weapons in a conflict, days after he warned of the “increasing” threat of nuclear war.
- “They (the US) have it in their strategy, in the documents it is spelled out – a preventive blow. We don't. We, on the other hand, have formulated a retaliatory strike in our strategy,” Putin said at a news conference in the Kyrgyzstan capital Bishkek.

Putin threatens to change strategy and use nuclear weapons – not as a last resort – but somehow else

- Even if Russia were to retaliate immediately on seeing the launch of nuclear missiles towards it, Putin said, “this means that the fall of the warheads of enemy missiles on the territory of the Russian Federation is inevitable – they will still fall.”
- Putin said that United States' policy was not to exclude the possibility of “disarming” nuclear strike, while Russia's doctrine is to use nuclear weapons as the last resort.

Putin refers to the so-called retaliatory strike

- And without categorically ruling out the first use of nuclear weapons, Putin said he viewed the Russian nuclear arsenal as a deterrent rather than a provocation.
- “As for the idea that Russia wouldn't use such weapons first under any circumstances, then it means we wouldn't be able to be the second to use them either – because the possibility to do so in case of an attack on our territory would be very limited,” he said.
- “Nevertheless, we have a strategy... namely, as a defense, we consider weapons of mass destruction, nuclear weapons – it is all based around the so-called retaliatory strike,” he said. “That is, when we are struck, we strike in response.”

LESSON 3

Nuclear Force Modernization & Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD)

- The US nuclear force modernization and potential response Russian use of nuclear weapons

- All statements by 4 star general David Petraeus
- The US and its allies would destroy Russian troops and equipment in Ukraine if Russia uses nuclear weapons in Ukraine
 - As well as sink its Black Sea fleet - if the Russian president, Vladimir Putin, uses nuclear weapons in the country (Ukraine), a former CIA director and retired four-star army general has warned
- Petraeus told ABC News: "Just to give you a hypothetical, we would respond by leading a NATO - a collective - effort that would take out every Russian conventional force that we can see and identify on the battlefield in Ukraine and also in Crimea and every ship in the Black Sea."
- Asked if the use of Nuclear weapons by Russia in Ukraine would bring America and NATO into the war, Petraeus said that it would not be a situation triggering the alliance's Article 5, which calls for a collective defense
 - That is because Ukraine is not a part of NATO- nonetheless, a "US and NATO response" would be in order, Petraeus said.
- Petraeus acknowledge that the likelihood that radiation would extend to NATO countries under the Article 5 umbrella (protection) could perhaps be construed as an attack on a NATO member
- "Perhaps you can make that case," he said, "The other case is that this is so horrific that there has to be a response - it cannot go unanswered."
- Yet, Petraeus added, "You don't want to, again, get into a nuclear escalation here. But you have to show that this cannot be accepted in any way."
 - Could be a gradual escalation (trade of limited nuclear weapons)
 - Must show this cannot be accepted → Bomb the black sea fleet
- Now pressure is mounting on Putin after Ukrainian gains in the east of the country. We do not know whether resistance to mobilization efforts (compulsory military service) within Russia mounting. Petraeus said Moscow's leader was "desperate." like a cornered rat.
- The battlefield reality Putin faces is irreversible. Greater mobilization will still lead to defeat. Annexation has failed. Even veiled nuclear threats cannot get him out of his difficult situation.
 - Referendum failed, nuclear threats failed
- Could a limited nuclear strike escalate into a nuclear war?

What do high-level U.S. and NATO officials think?

- Dr. John Manza, NATO's Assistant Secretary-General NATO operations visited Western campus and Professor Simpson's classes. He thought that Ballistic Missile Defence and Space Defence are excellent projects that Canada should join
 - In charge of NATO's conventional operations
 - If Canada joins, it would be a good way to contribute to U.S. defense
- Any nation's vessels on the Black Sea are doomed. If there is a fight on the Black Sea, it will be aircraft and missiles that destroy all of the surface and subsurface combatants.
- Erika Simpson figuring out whether Petraeus threat to annihilate Russian Vessels in Black Sea was a credible threat - or not.
 - Why: In order to avert nuclear war and battlefield losses of 100,000 people or more on each side, there's going to have to be recognition that it is time to negotiate. At some point there is going to have to be some kind of beginning of negotiations. As Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy has said, there will be the ultimate end
 - But Petraeus has warned, "It can still get worse for Putin and for Russia, And even the use of tactical nuclear weapons on the battlefield won't change this at all.:"

- Still, he added, "You have to take the threat seriously."
- On the newsmedia, I have pointed out that Putin could strike distribution points where US and allied supplies are entering Ukraine, including inside Poland.
- When two farmers were killed by an errant missile, the media thought nuclear war was imminent. I acknowledged the nuclear threat but said most of my worries were about "an accidental Russian attack inside NATO territory, for example, accidentally striking an airport in Poland or some infrastructure"
 - "NATO will have to respond to it and how it will respond, as an organization that relies on consensus decision making will depend on the nature of the attack and the scale and scope of it."
- The media always wants to know: Is the risk higher today than it was a few months ago?"
- Questions revolve
 - Wrote an op ed that she has until Thursday to change an npp but things are changing so quickly, she is probably going to save this line of analysis
-

United States withdrew from Intermediate Nuclear Forces treaty and the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and the Anti-Ballistic

- U.S. President Donald Trump announced in 2018 he would withdraw the United States from the intermediate Nuclear forces (INF) treaty. The United States and Russia have also withdrawn from the ABM Treaty. They are only involved now in the SALT negotiations and neither party is at the bargaining table anymore
 - NMckgell Gorbunchan - Leader of USSR during the cold war

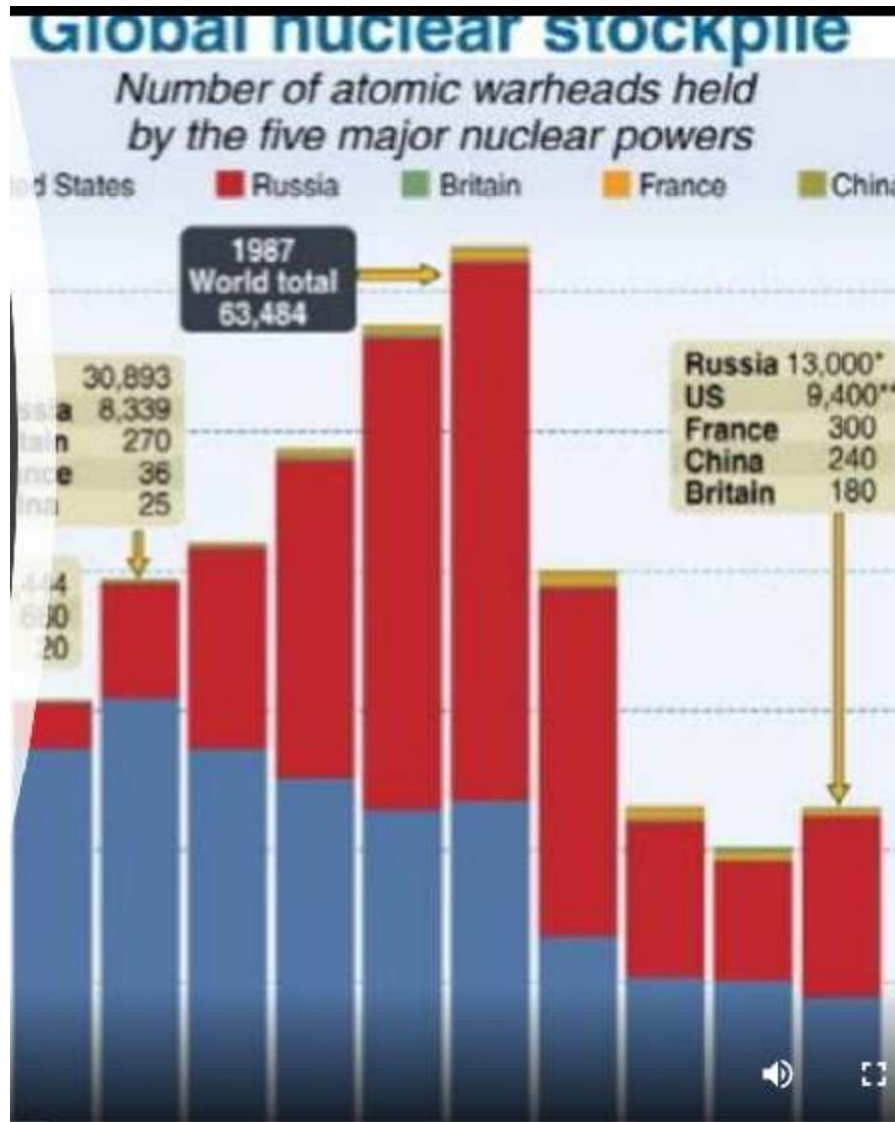


United States withdrew from JCPOA treaty

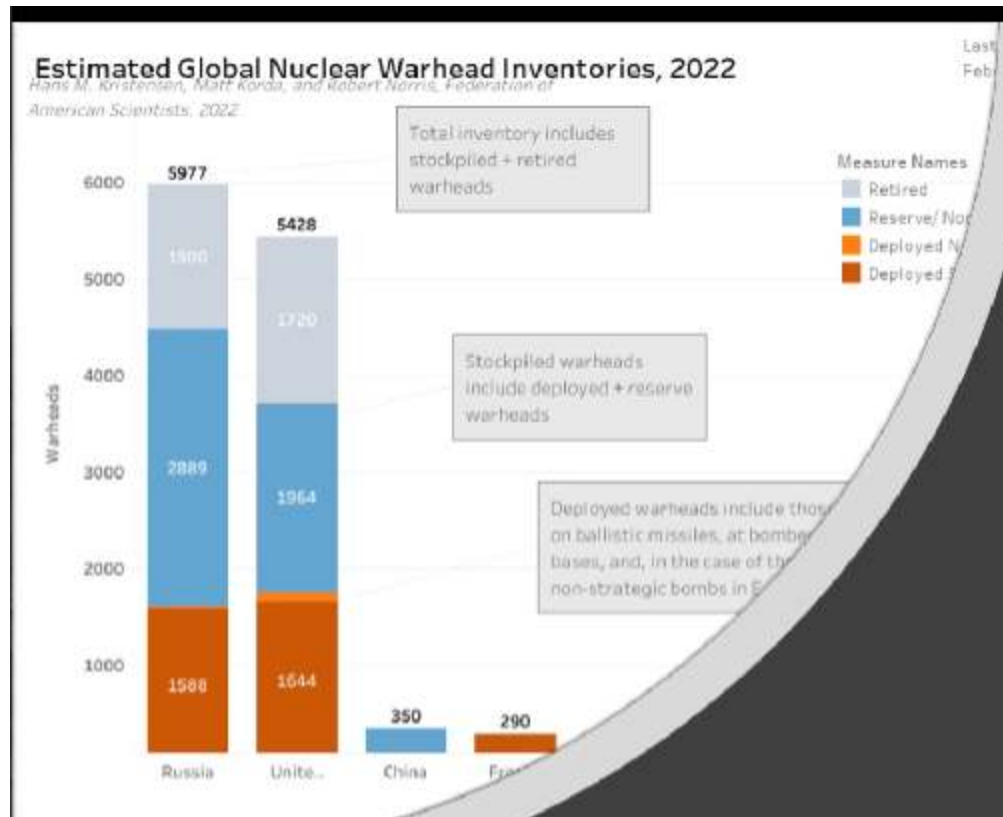
- President Trump also ripped up the arms control agreement with Iran - the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action - as well as other international treaties, like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
 - Withdrew because of reluctance with Iran

Global stockpiles of nuclear weapons during the Cold War

- The U.S. and Russia share 13,500 nuclear weapons between them, ninety-five percent of the world's arsenal



- **At the height of the Cold war in 1987, the world total was 63, 484 nuclear weapons**
- The U.S. and Russia shared 95% of the world's arsenal shared ninety-five percent of the world's arsenal. They still have 95% of the world's arsenal of nuclear weapons.
- Will the United States and Russia always share most of the world's arsenal? Not in multipolar world with new great powers and rogue states
- **Nuclear Modernization Plans**
- The U.S. intends to spend US \$355 billion on its nuclear stockpile and US \$70 billion on modernizing its nuclear weapons over the next few years. We do not know what Russia plans to spend but its stockpile will need to be safety checked and modernized
 - Take 30 years to fully modernize



- **Global Stockpiles of nuclear weapons are growing**
 - More and more countries are building or acquiring their own arsenals of nuclear weapons, like India and Pakistan with approx. 100 each
 - Israel has its own secret stockpile of about 90-100 nuclear weapons. These weapons will also need to be modernized, tested, safety stored - eventually dismantled
- **North Korea's nuclear facilities are growing**
 - North Korea may have between 13-60 nuclear weapons, according to U.S. estimates, but nobody really knows.
 - Kim Jong Un threatened in January 2023 to greatly expand the nuclear arsenal so that they can hit South Korea with nuclear missiles
- What time was it during the Cold War?
- What time is it now?
- As of 2022, it is 100 seconds to midnight!
- **The INF Treaty: Background**
 - We are entering a nuclear jungle with fewer institutional agreements.
 - 'The INF Treaty was signed in 1987 between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev. It concerned the Russian SS-20 nuclear missiles and the United States' Pershing missiles, to be deployed in Europe along with ground-launched cruise missiles.
- **Has Russia violated the INF Treaty?**
 - The Americans said Russians were violating the INF Treaty by developing a newer cruise missile, the SS-8 that possibly can be deployed underwater, and that could find its way into New York City's harbour
- **Should the US negotiate with China and Russia?**
 - The INF treaty, as a bilateral treaty did not cover China's development of more intermediate range nuclear missiles. You can see the Pugwash conference

advertisement. I am hoping to interview the Chair of Pugwash Canada next week in a recording

- **The NPT Treaty: Disagreement in 2022 once again - next meeting is in 2026**
 - We still have the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which was negotiated in 1968, and 160 countries have signed it. The United Nations (UN) holds a review Conference of the NPT Treaty every 5 years. The diplomats walked away with no agreement in 2015 and 2022. Now worries are that in 2026, there will be yet more disagreement, possible the collapse of the nuclear arms control regime
- **High-Level Summit on Disarmament cancelled**
 - The UN suggested a High-Level Summit on Nuclear Disarmament be held in April 2018. But it was cancelled at the last minute (no country wanted to sponsor it). Everybody agreed we were entering a very dangerous situation because of global nuclear proliferation. Still most folks were taken by surprise by Putin's nuclear threats

North Korea's bad example? A focus on Guy Robert's example

- There is the risk that countries look at the success of North Korea - in terms of deterring an attack by the United States - and decide to acquire or build their own nuclear weapons.
- Japan and South Korea could follow suit. Saudi Arabia and Syria may develop their own nuclear weapons, in response to Israel's arsenal.

UN Conference on WMD in Middle East?

- The UN promised in 2010 to hold a conference on Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East, but that conference was also never held. Taken together with the failed Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty and the weakened Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention (BTWC), all kinds of new arms races could begin. A leader might acquire biological weapons because they are much less expensive than nuclear weapons.

The risk of terrorists with so-called "dirty bombs"

- We also have to worry about the possibility of terrorists obtaining nuclear materials, like plutonium or uranium, on the world market and making dirty bombs that could be blown up in large American cities, like New York City or Washington, causing thousands of people to flee into the country for fear their own cities would be targeted as well.

The New Ban Treaty

- There is not much that can be done until the US and Russia agree to come to the bargaining table. In the interim, the non-nuclear weapon states have held three global conferences that resulted in a new treaty, the 'Ban' or 'Prohibition' Treaty. The new Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) is the first new disarmament treaty in twenty years, and it was passed in the UN General Assembly in 2017.
- But many countries refused to sign it, including all the nuclear-armed states and the NATO allies including Canada. Canada even refused to send diplomats to observe the negotiation of the treaty.

NATO's Strategic Concept

- The NATO allies decided to abide by NATO's Strategic Concept, which has been around since 1991, and promises that 'as long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance'

Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space

Lesson 3: US Space Force & Nuclear Posture Review

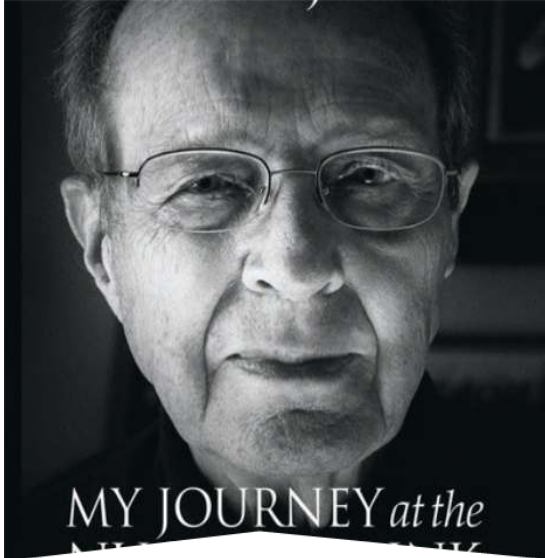
A multipolar world

- The risk is that as more countries acquire nuclear weapons, the world becomes more dangerous than during the Cold War. Back then, it was a bilateral world order, but now it is a multipolar world,

with many more nuclear powers that do not have the same safeguards, command and control, and hot lines, as we had during previous crises, like the Cuban missile crisis.

More dangerous now?

- Former U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry has just written a book that says that we are in a more dangerous situation now than we were during the Cold War.



Global Disarmament movement and ICAN

- A global movement pressing for disarmament, like during the 1980s, is unlikely, although young people are participating in vigils, marches and grass-roots letter writing campaigns organized by the Nobel-Prize winning organization ICAN. We will probably not see another global movement, unless, perhaps there is a limited nuclear exchange.

ICANS wins 2017 Nobel Prize for Peace

- Ray Acheson is a Canadian
- Beatrice Fihn is a Swede.
- Tim Wright is an Australian.
- Ray Acheson visited Huron College, her alma mater just before the Covid pandemic hit.

U.S. Nuclear Posture Review

- The U.S. and Russia are modernizing their nuclear weapons, using the argument that nuclear warheads need to be safer, more credible and usable. The new U.S. Nuclear Posture Review increased their reliance on usable nuclear weapons.
- The prospect of renewed arms control talks is very unlikely. For now, President Biden has made no mention of any new proposed arms control talks.
- The Russian attack on Ukraine undermined any prospects cited by the U.S. State Department of going to the bargaining table.

Trump's New Space Force idea

- The United States has decided to develop an entirely new branch of the US military called the "Space Force".
- Putin seems to be very concerned about its implications. It looks like it will be primarily geared toward war efforts in space.

- President Trump told an audience at Miramar Air Station, near San Diego, during a speech on March 13 2018 that “Space is a warfighting domain, just like the land, air and sea” and such a visionary idea could become reality soon: “I was saying it the other day, because we’re doing a tremendous amount of work in space – maybe we need a new force, we’ll call it the Space Force”.

The U.S: ‘getting big in space’

- Mr. Trump added, “I was not really serious, and then I said ‘what a great idea, maybe we’ll have to do that. That could happen.”
- In an address to members of the West Point football team at the White House on May 1, 2018 the President announced,
- “You will be part of the five proud branches of the United States Armed Forces – Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force and the Coast Guard. And we’re actually thinking of a sixth, and that would be the Space Force....You probably haven’t even heard that. I’m just telling you now. We’re getting very big in space, both militarily and for other reasons, and we are seriously thinking of the Space Force.”

Does the United States want to dominate space?

- In a speech at a meeting of the National Space Council on June 18, 2018 Trump envisioned the Space Force would protect American interests in space through monitoring commercial traffic and debris. Such initiatives would be “great not only in terms of jobs and everything else, it’s great for the psyche of our country.”

An arms race in space?

- President Biden has also earmarked research funds and defence funding for outer space. Developing plans to make it a national security priority could lead to an arms race in space. Taken together with so many broken arms control agreements in a short time and the Russian attack on Ukraine, the proposed Space Force could further undermine the nuclear arms control regime.

Might the U.S. dominate space and frighten Russia into using its nuclear forces first?

- Putin has warned about the risk that the U.S. could eclipse both Russia and China, beyond Earth’s atmosphere, and formulate technology that could interfere with its adversaries’ ballistic missiles, as well as satellites. He has repeatedly suggested U.S. Ballistic Missile Defense plans must be opposed.

Could the U.S. dominate space?

- Just before Christmas in 2019, the US Congress rushed through the Pentagon’s request for US\$4 billion to detect, defeat and defend against ballistic missiles.
- “We are ordering \$4 billion worth of missile defense equipment and missiles themselves. Very important,” Trump said at the White House, “Top of the line. Best in the world. We make the best military product in the world, and nobody is even close.”

The Midas touch

- According to President Trump, \$4 billion would be spent by designating missile defense as an ‘emergency defense fund’. His reasoning was that, “And I’m very honoured to be doing that. Our military has been doing a fantastic job in so many ways, with ISIS. And everything they’re touching lately has been working out. So we’re signing that.”
- When you watch Guy Roberts speak, note that he rarely talks about the cost of nuclear missile modernization.
- Guy Roberts spearheaded the nuclear modernization and the Nuclear Posture Review. He has no problem with spending billions on force modernization – indeed, he argues it is right and proper.

Buy B. Roberts and the notion of defeating Russia

- Sometimes I have wondered whether the U.S. Marines and their desire to dominate others on all fronts may be a prime factor. It has not escaped my attention that many high-level positions are held by men who were in the U.S. Marines.

Nuclear Posture Review mentions operational space forces

- The Trump administration released the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) - a public document that guides the US nuclear strategy - and it made clear that nuclear modernization was the U.S. administration's highest national defence priority.
- The latest Nuclear Posture Review is classified and secret. We are hearing the US military intends to strengthen its protection against space-based threats, as well the Nuclear Command, Control and Communications (NC3) system.
- According to Roberts, the NC3 system is a legacy of the Cold War, last comprehensively updated almost three decades ago.
- According to the NPR, "The United States will enhance the training of operational space forces to ensure we are prepared to successfully achieve mission objectives against the range of 21st century threats."
- So the concept of a Space Force was not Trump's own idea. It was a product of longterm planning that came into play well before Trump attained office.

The last time Canada was asked (Round 1)

- The last time a US president requested Canada's cooperation in missile defence was when George W. Bush made a high-profile public plea on Canadian soil.
- Back in 2003, the Liberals and the NDP had already raised many questions about US plans to militarize space and attain full-spectrum dominance in the space war theatre.
- Former foreign affairs minister Lloyd Axworthy and other prominent Liberals feared the US missile-defence program could be a prelude to an arms race in space.

Prime Minister Harper's record: no free vote held

- Then-Prime Minister Martin decided against participation in February 2005, and all the political parties supported the Liberal decision not to participate in BMD, except the Conservatives.
- Conservative leader Stephen Harper promised that, if elected, he would reverse the Liberal decision and put the question before Parliament for a free vote.
- Conservative Leader Stephen Harper promised that, if elected, he would reverse the Liberal decision and put the question before Parliament for a free vote. But as prime minister from 2006 to 2015, he did not and the issue lay dormant.
- General John de Chastelain, the Chief of Canada's Defence Forces came to my class when I was a post-doctoral student teaching at Carleton University.
- I phoned him up and asked him to come. He did not know but he came to the class.



2017 Defence Policy Review is ambiguous on the question

- Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's government has not taken a stand on whether to go into space either.
- In the 2017 defence policy review, Strong Secure, Engaged. the government notes, "While Canada remains fully committed to the peaceful use of space, our assets have become potential targets, with some states developing a range of anti-satellite weapons (ASATs) that could potentially threaten access to the space domain."

Peaceful use of space? Or develop advanced capabilities? Or both?

- The government adds, “Canada can demonstrate leadership by promoting the military and civilian norms of responsible behaviour in space required to ensure the peaceful use of outer space.”
- On the other hand, the review also asserts that to keep pace, “Canada must develop advanced space and cyber capabilities, and expand cutting-edge research and development.”
- Moreover, “Canada and the United States must work closely together on NORAD modernization in order to defend North America.”
- Taken altogether, the government seems ambiguous on the militarization of space rather than firmly opposed.

Canada's frayed relations with the U.S.

- Thus, it is too difficult to say whether the Trudeau administration might reconsider or reverse the Martin and Harper's governments' legacy on the outer space and missile defence files.
- But many MPs and their constituents might want, somehow, to mend frayed relations with Washington.
- Chrystia Freeland as a new candidate for Prime Minister (to possibly replace Justin Trudeau) may want to join the U.S. in Ballistic Missile Defense and Outer Space because of the lessons learned from Ukraine.

Trump's critique of the NATO allies

- Trump blasted Canada and other NATO allies for lower defence spending on NATO. On his first foreign trip, he pressured NATO leaders to raise their defence spending to two per cent of their country's GDP.
- After the Group of Seven summit in Quebec in 2018, Mr. Trump tweeted that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was “very dishonest & weak.”
- After the NATO Summit in 2018, the European allies were very worried about whether the U.S. would stay committed to the allies (and stay in Afghanistan).

Emerging plans in the U.S. continue, albeit Canada-U.S. friction

- No matter what the Prime Minister or the Liberal Cabinet or the Liberal caucus decide about how to deal with the US President Joseph Biden's plans due to the Russia-Ukraine war, the actual development of Ballistic Missile Defence and a Space Force will be expensive and difficult.
- The U.S. administration is expanding its strategy to use cyberweapons to interfere with an adversary, like North Korea's control systems, before missiles are launched.
- Emerging plans are to use drones and fighter jets to shoot missiles down moments after liftoff, and to expand the missile defence network on the west coast for use in case all else fails.

Colliding missiles over Canada?

- No matter whether Canada joins the expanding US missile defence project or not, there will always be the risk that nuclear debris from errant or colliding ballistic missiles rains over Canada.
- In the 1960s, there were top-secret US plans for nuclear-armed American Bomarc missiles based in Canada to intercept Soviet bombers carrying nuclear payloads over Canadian airspace, thus possibly raining nuclear fallout over southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Canada is nuclear weapon free right now

- In the 1950s, top-secret U.S. plans were for nuclear-armed American Bomarc missiles based in Canada to intercept Soviet bombers carrying nuclear payloads over Canadian air space, thus raining nuclear fallout over southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan.
- However, former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and his minister of external affairs, Howard Green, ultimately decided not to equip the Bomarcs with nuclear warheads.
- Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and his minister of external affairs Howard Green ultimately decided not to equip the Bomarcs with nuclear warheads. But the Canadian government may decide someday soon to station American missile sites – and radar equipment in the Yukon and Nunavut.

North Korea's hardened underground silos

- If North Korea continues to strongly pursue the capability to conduct a first strike from space, then the United States may possibly have to strike against North Korea's hardened underground nuclear silos. This would mean that Russia, China and North Korea's nuclear deterrent could be threatened as well.

Reckless and ruthless

- Kim Jong-Un is supreme commander of a formidable million-men conventional army that is armed with nuclear weapons that can range thousands of kilometres through space.
- Kim Jong Un is launching ballistic missiles over Japan and using the current Ukraine crisis to stir up concerns about a possible crisis over its plans to possibly strike the U.S.
- The world's youngest and most inexperienced leader, he was appointed as the supreme commander of a formidable (albeit malnourished and pitifully underequipped) million-member conventional army. A million soldiers is a lot of men but they would be defeated by South Korea's superior military equipment and technological superiority. Therefore Kim Jong Un thinks he needs nuclear weapons as a deterrent.

Trump and Kim's unclear buttons

- In one of his annual New Year's addresses, the ruthless leader said, "The U.S. should know that the button for nuclear weapons is on my table," and "The entire area of the U.S. mainland is within our nuclear strike range...The United States can never start a war against me and our country." This is a classical deterrent threat – it cannot be more explicit than this.

Trump tweets back his own deterrent threat

- Trump tweets back his own deterrent threat
- The next day, Trump tweeted in reply, "North Korean Leader Kim Jong Un just stated that the 'Nuclear Button is on his desk at all times.' Will someone from his depleted and food starved regime please inform him that I too have a Nuclear Button, but it is a much bigger & more powerful one than his, and my Button works."
- Trump grasps the concept of deterrence. It involves threatening the costs of attacking outweigh the benefits. He said it clearly.
- It was unusual to use Twitter to utter deterrent threats. It made Trump seem irrational and also unpredictable. People examined the time he sent the threats. Sometimes it was in the middle of the night, like 1:05 am. This seemed irrational and not credible.

Briefcases with the nuclear codes that launch unclear strikes

- Even if Putin or Biden's buttons were to work -- actually, what they have is known as the football, a deadly briefcase that carries the nuclear codes and never leaves either president's side -- it is unlikely any nation will be able to 100 percent reliably shoot down an adversary's nuclear rockets in space. And just one miss means nuclear devastation below.

Should Earth's orbit remain a demilitarized zone?

- Do you feel more comfortable with your country acting as a middle power - and pushing a disarmament agenda - rather than joining forces with the United States to set up systems in space that destabilize arms control? On the other hand, maybe you would prefer to join the United States and help shoot down missiles from Russia and North Korea and possibly China. After all, Russia is striking Kiev with drones so moving into space might be a good idea.

Can we somehow keep Space for Peace

- Antarctica is a demilitarized zone and there are many Nuclear Weapon Free Zones around the world. Perhaps in the wake of the Ukraine War, frightened decision-makers will try to negotiate a demilitarized Outer Space?
- Antarctica is a demilitarized zone and there are many Nuclear Weapon Free Zones around the world. Perhaps in the wake of the Ukraine War, frightened decision-makers will try to negotiate a

demilitarized Outer Space? The Antarctic Treaty was signed in 1959 by 12 countries and the entire Antarctic continent remains a demilitarized zone.

- The Antarctic Treaty was signed by 12 countries, making the Antarctic continent a demilitarized zone to be preserved for scientific research

Retired U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Guy B. Roberts

- Biden Administration
 - Don't expect will see any major changes in what has been a partisan agreement for the modernization of the nuclear deterrent
 - Extinguish between the facts and gossip/ geopolitical
 - Russia, China and North Korea are increasing and diversifying their nuclear systems which they are integrating into their military strategies
 - Poses a challenge for us to defend against
- In period called Great Power Competition
 - Our deterrence posture must be such f
-

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“Just to give a hypothetical, we would respond by leading a NATO - a collective - effort that would take out every Russian conventional force that we can see on the battlefield in Ukraine and Crimea, and every ship in the black sea”

- If a nuclear weapon is used in Ukraine, it would bring America and NATO into war, but would not activate article 5 (attack on one is an attack on all), since Ukraine is not a NATO nation

- There could be an argument that nuclear radiation from a weapon could reach NATO nations, activating article 5

- But there would be a response regardless because that action cannot go unanswered. Petraeus does not state that there will be nuclear counter attacks

- Putin's lack of support and inability to support pushes him into a corner where nuclear strikes become more tempting, since it would be his best option

- NATO's response to a nuclear attack would need to have full consensus and will depend on the nature and scale of the attack
- Donald Trump's withdrawal from the Intermediate Nuclear Forces treaty and the Anti-ballistic missile treaty, means that the only involvement by the US in these kinds of treaties is the SALT negotiations, but neither party is at the bargaining table anymore
 - During his era, he withdrew from the JCPOA as well as other international treaties, and were reluctant to reach other agreements (re-did NAFTA)
- The US intends to spend \$355B on its nuclear stockpile and \$70B on just its nuclear stockpile (30 year plan)
- All nuclear weapons will need to be modernized, tested, and safely stored over the next 100 years
- North Korea is threatening to greatly expand its arsenal in 2023 and hit South Korea with nuclear weapons

The Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty

- Signed in 1987, signed by Gorbachev and Reagan
- Governed nuclear missiles in Europe
- Treaty is no longer in service
- The US argue that Russia violated the treaty by developing a new cruise missile (SS-8), that could be deployed underwater and attack American waters
- The NPT is the cornerstone of today's nuclear treaties; INF is outdated

High Level Summit on Nuclear Disarmament

- Was cancelled in 2018 since no one wanted to sponsor it, despite the extremely dangerous state of the world at the time

UN conference on WMD in the Middle East

- With failed conferences on many topics such as chemical weapons, biological weapons, and nuclear weapons, there is a chance that a new arms race could begin in areas of the world (Japan/South Korea seeking nuclear weapons in response to North Korea's arsenal expansion)

Bans on Nuclear Weapons

- Not much can be done unless the US and Russia come to some sort of agreement
- Some non-nuclear states have come together to form the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (The Ban/Prohibition) Treaty (TPNW). Was passed in 2017
 - Canada did not sign and did not even send a diplomat, and most nuclear nations did not sign
 - NATO strategic concept goes against the ban on nukes, thus no one agreed

The multipolar world

- As more countries acquire nuclear weapons, it becomes more dangerous than the cold war
- The global disarmament movement is led by ICAN (AU and CAN movement)

The US nuclear posture review

- The US increased reliance on usable nuclear weapons
- The Americans have also proposed something called a space force, where the military would expand into space (proposed by Trump, endorsed by Biden)

- Is supposed to protect American interests in space through monitoring aircraft and debris
- Could undermine the nuclear arms control regime
- If the Americans to expand into space, it could force Russia to use its nuclear weapons first, creating a reason to strike back
- The idea was that it was for defense; he claimed that the Americans were doing very well with ISIS and had the so called *magic touch* with anything their military touched
- The official review mentions space forces. Made it clear that nuclear modernization was the highest defense priority for the American defense
- The latest nuclear posture review is classified, but it is rumoured that it will intend to strengthen its protection against space based threats as well as the nuclear command, control, and communications system (NC3). NC3 is a relic of the cold war
- The space forces is supposed to enhance the training of operational space forces to ensure the preparation of defense against 21st century threats

Canada's involvement in the American space defense program

- Was in 2003, and Canada questioned the logistics and plans that the Americans had for the program
- Was feared that it was a prelude to an arms race in space
- Bush was president, Paul Martin was prime minister of Canada, Lloyd Axworthy was minister of foreign affairs
- Harper promised that he would put the question about Canada's involvement in front of parliament for a free vote (never happened)
- Canada's policy on space weapons is rather ambiguous
- Canada joining the American ballistic missile defense program may improve the frayed relationship between the countries
- Despite the friction between the US and Canada, the expense to go into space will be very high. The more attractive option is for investment into cybersecurity (cyberweapons)
- Colliding missiles over Canada is a risk and could be a reason why Canada joins the US in the program
- Canada may consider stationing American missile defense systems in Canada

Trump's critique of NATO allies

- Was not happy about the disparity in military spending from other nations, especially Canada

North Korean nuclear threat

- If they continue to pursue a first strike against the US and continue to send nukes over Japan, then the US may need to attack North Korean nuclear stockpiles
- The North Korean army is severely malnourished and underequipped, meaning that it is in their best interest to invest in nuclear weapons as their primary weapon

American nuclear procedure

- A briefcase called the football is carried around everywhere and it carries all nuclear codes

Peace in space

- There is the possibility that there can be peace kept in space, similar to the DMZ in Antarctica

Non-nuclear state's role in nuclear proliferation

- Article 6 is being strongly pursued by non-nuclear nations
- The Treaty of Nuclear Prohibition has conflicts not just with the possession of nuclear weapons with NATO but also with the nuclear deterrence strategy of NATO

- There are conflicts of interests between non-nuclear weapon states that are in NATO but also advocate for nuclear disarmament like Canada and Germany
- Nuclear disarmament has been greatly unsuccessful
- Effects on climate and humanitarian crisis following a nuclear attack could be catastrophic, and has been discussed
- Nuclear weapons have not been in the focus on NATO, but are still vital for the nuclear deterrence policy it holds
- Some NATO states have declared that their land will not harbour nuclear weapons
- NATO has pledged that they will try to create a world where there are no nuclear weapons, but have not described what those conditions will be

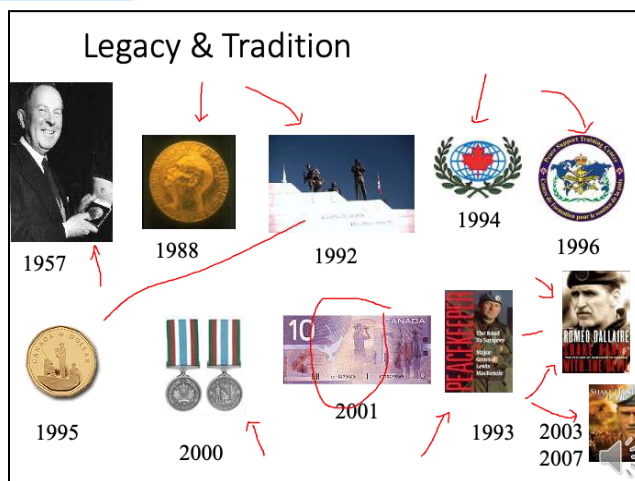
Guy Robert's Talk on Nuclear Modernization

- Is necessary since all other adversaries are aggressively developing their nuclear arsenals
- There is no evidence that the US stopping their program will encourage others to stop theirs
- Is the strongest form of nuclear deterrence; if it is lost then the US is extremely prone to attack, thus it is necessary to modernize it rather than ditch it
- There still will be an effort to denuclearize, but that will require a multilateral agreement between many nuclear states

Lesson 4:

Lesson 4-1: UN Peacekeeping - Legacy and Tradition

Legacy and Tradition



- 1957 and 1988 - Nobel Peace Prize
- 1992 - 3 peacekeepers
- 1994 - establishment of the peacekeeper trading system
- 1995 - peacekeepers on back of Canadian dollar
- 2000 - peacekeeper medals
- 2001 - peacekeepers observing
- 1993 - Louis McKenzie
- 2003/ 2007 - Shake hands with the devil - Romeo Dallaire

Peacekeeping: UN Definition

- The deployment of international military and civilian personnel to a conflict area, with the consent of the parties to the conflict and/or national authorities, [acting impartially] in order to:
 - DOES NOT NEED CONSENT ANYMORE
 - stop or contain hostilities
 - supervise the carrying out of a peace agreement
 - assist with humanitarian relief, human rights compliance (international law) and nation-building

Evolutionary Model of Peacekeeping: You can use the term *Peace Support Operations* (PKSO)

- **Four Types or 4 Generations of Peacekeeping Tradition:** (generations that have developed since the 1960s)
 - **1. Observer (first-generation)**
 - UNTSO (Israel/Arab neighbors), 1948-
 - **2. Interposition (first-generation)**
 - UNEF (Suez), 1956-
 - **3. Multidimensional' support operations**
 - UNTAG (Namibia), 1989-90
 - **4. Transitional administrations**
 - UNMIK (Kosovo), 1998-
 - UNTAET (East Timor), 1999-2002

1. FIRST TYPE or FIRST-GENERATION Peacekeeping were ⇒ "OBSERVER MISSIONS"

- Speaker does not touch on this alot
 - Ex: Demilitarized Zone between North and South Korea pictured here. Note they are not carrying guns (or axes)
- UN wears blue hats/ caps - un
- **Observer Mission Functions:** Second Generation of Peacekeeping
 - observe, monitor, verify
 - Supervise
 - Conciliate
 - Unarmed soldiers were expected to be deployed
 - The "soldier diplomat" was also expected to be **quasi diplomats**
 - Dangerous? Not really as both sides agreed to presence of peacekeepers
 - Ex: Canada committed second generation peacekeepers to Cyprus for 30 years

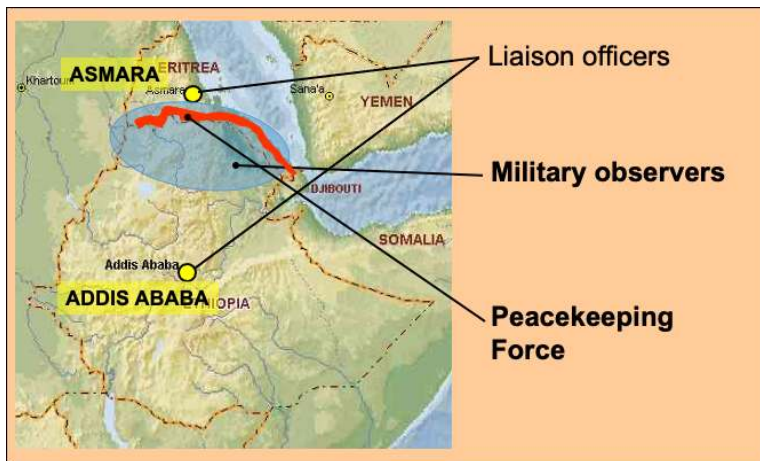
2. Second Type/ Generation: Interposed Forces

- Goal was to separate the combatants using peacekeeping forces
- Goal was to serve in pre-formed units (e.g. battalions)
- Peacekeepers would be armed for self-defense (but not really armed)
- **Ex 1: UN Emergency Force in Middle East 1956 (Later UNEF II)**
 - UNEF II was second generation (were interposed like hostages)
- Interpositional Peacekeeping also meant the UN had to separate warring forces - usually through diplomacy
- **Ex 2: UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) is another example of interpositional peacekeeping**
 - White trucks and blue flag + blue caps → UN
 - Created 1964
 - enclaves and protected areas
 - "Green lines" separated Turks from Cypriots

- Turkish invasion 1974
 - Divided island into two parts
 - “Green line” patrolled
- **IS UNFICYP still in operation?** → **YES**, 58 years later it is still operating
 - Our speaker was NOT there
 - Canadians were there for 30 years but withdrew from Cyprus.
 - Joe Clark was a UN envoy trying to negotiate a peaceful solution.
 - Who was Joe Clark? → Former Canadian prime minister

3. Third Type/ Third generation: Multidimensional Operations

- “MULTIDIMENSIONAL OPERATIONS” came to dominate.
- Third Generation Peacekeeping was more complicated due to changing peacekeeping expectations.
- For example, Canada contributed to a force in Eritrea & Ethiopia.
- **UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (2000 - 2008)**



New Types of Peacekeeping: Naval (Sea) + AIR based

- Air Force Contributions to the legacy of peacekeeping include Canadian Griffons (helicopters) and drones for the UN's use.
 - Canada is supplying drone use for the UN
- More UN negotiations and state-building/ or nation building (peace building/ nation building) administration began to be used.
- 'MULTIDIMENSIONAL' PEACEKEEPING
 - Many more tasks and responsibilities including police, electoral officers...
 - Political
 - Military
 - Humanitarian
 - Police
 - Judicial (lawyers, judges)
 - Social
 - Reconstruction
 - Economic (economic exchanges)
- Peacekeeping came to include protection of strategic sites
- Peacekeeping then included pre deployment so as to help in the prevention of conflict

- Ex: US/UN peacekeepers in Macedonia
 - To prevent a war (deterrent)
- **Civil Authority Assistance:** Military and civilian peacekeepers went from being professional combat-capable soldiers to being soldiers trained as engineers and as bureaucrats. All sorts of professionals became peacekeepers including the RCMP
 - Ex: Road-building in Cambodia using UN peacekeepers
- Many more peacekeeping tasks require specialized skills:
 - Humanitarian Assistance
 - Disarmament
 - Demobilization
 - Reintegration
 - Police
 - Human Rights
 - Elections

Spectrum of Electoral Operations: (increasing responsibilities going DOWN)

- **1. Election monitoring**
 - selected polling sites to all sites
 - balloting and counting
 - campaigning and implementation
- **2. Electoral Assistance**
 - Provision of supplies
 - People provided
- **3. Electoral supervision**
 - Decision-making powers
 - Part of Electoral Commission
- **4. Electoral organization**
 - All aspects of conduct of election
 - Monitoring the campaign period

Ex: Nation-building → Inauguration of First Namibian President

- Guest speaker talked about this - he wasn't there at the beginning but it was such a learning experience for him (doesn't go into much detail)

Enforcement in Peacekeeping: 'Robust peacekeeping'

- Robust peacekeeping involves:
 - Aerial and naval enforcement
 - Protection
 - Protection against snipers (e.g. Sarajevo)
 - Intelligence, advanced monitoring
 - Engineering
 - Rapid reaction
 - Drones
- Robust peacekeeping → 4th generation peacekeeping evolved due to many difficult/ dangerous situations
 - **Ex: Patrick** → 3 days tied to a pole as a hostage (in Yugoslavia) but he was rescued

- **Ex: Robust UN Peacekeeping in the Congo and Cote d'Ivoire**

- Used Mi-25 Combat Helicopters

4. Fourth type/ Generation: Transitional Administration

- TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION so being responsible for nation-building an entire country, like Syria, Afghanistan or East Timor

- **A BIG STEP:**

- Requires actually governing a territory during a transitional period
- **Goal:** turn over power to a peaceful, stable government that is governed by a local, democratically-elected leadership
- *The "comprehensive approach"*
- UN doesn't have enough money

- **Security Sector Reform (SSR)**

- ⇒ Afghanistan they tried to undertake a comprehensive approach and build everything including an army to no avail - NOT successful
 - Military
 - Police
 - Corrections
 - Judicial & Legal
 - Customs & Border Control
 - Intelligence
 - General population
 - Disarmament

- Cases:

- Eastern Slovenia/ Bosnia 1966 - 98
- Precursors:
 - West Papua, 1962-63
 - Cambodia, 1992-93
- Kosovo, 1998-
- East Timor, 1999-2002

- **Ex: UN Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK) is still operating today**

- Unprecedented (what they are trying to do) in both scope and structural complexity
- Government services:
 - Health and education
 - Banking and finance
 - Post and telecommunications
 - Law and order
- Other multilateral organizations are full partners under United Nations leadership

- **Ex: Afghanistan (e.g. under President Karzai)**

- Canada's elite Joint Task Force 2 went to Afghanistan in 2001, followed by other Canadian soldiers based in Kandahar.

- They joined American and British troops already fighting to topple the Taliban regime, eliminate terrorist operations and establish schools and institutions bent on creating lasting peace in the troubled country.
- **Should Canada support more “Peace Support Operations” (e.g. in Africa?) (NATO Definition 2010)**
 - An operation that impartially makes use of diplomatic, civil and military means, normally in pursuit of United Nations Charter purposes and principles, to restore or maintain peace.
 - Such operations may include conflict prevention, peacemaking, peace enforcement, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and/or humanitarian operations

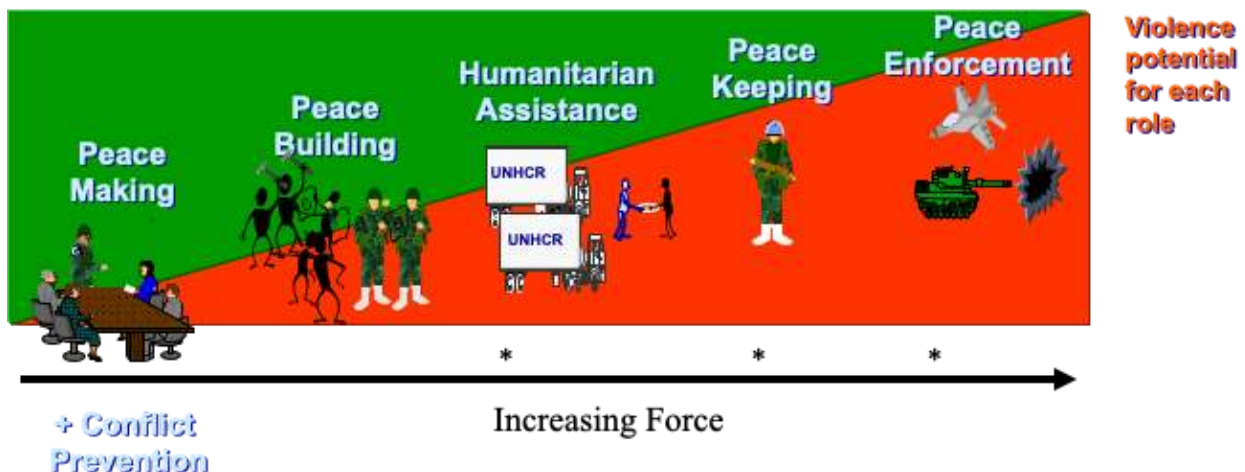
- **Ex: Afghanistan**

- As the war in Afghanistan became increasingly unpopular, Canada’s combat role ended in 2011 and the focus shifted to training Afghanistan’s army and police force. But Canada’s participation in the UN peacekeeping operation was abruptly abandoned in 2014, under Stephen Harper’s government, due to domestic pressures and political expediency. The last of our service members left the country in March 2014.
- For more than 13 years, the Canadian Forces operated in and were well-equipped for a theatre of war in Afghanistan.
- **STATISTIC:** 158 members of the Canadian Forces were killed serving in the Afghan war + 1 diplomat (+ suicides but official number is 158)

Lesson 4-2: The UN and Peacekeeping Today

- The number of Canadians killed in Afghanistan was 158. According to a recent investigation, 54 Canadian soldiers committed suicide after the war, obliging the government to put in place a suicide prevention strategy.

Peacekeeping Support Operations and Different Types of PSOs (NATO doctrine)



- Peacekeeping has evolved → more peace enforcement + conflict prevention
 - More involved in peacebuilding and peacemaking (law)

Where is Kandahar? Where is Kabul?



Most difficult fighting area

- In Mali, Canadian forces would be expected to join with France, which has a permanent 3,000-strong anti-insurgent operation in Africa's Sahel region.
 - Pockets of extremist militants do exist in the desert and northern provinces of Mali, but these groups have neither targeted nor threatened specific Canadian interests.
 - Maure → points out you have to be french speaking to go there
- UN diplomats expected Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan to commit to Mali. Instead the Department of National Defence sought to delay the decision until it had a chance to consult the new Trump administration. "We will ensure that our troops have the right mission, mandate, training and equipment in order to mitigate risk and maximize our impact," said spokesperson Jordan Owens.

Robust Peacekeeping in Mali required:

- Clear and achievable mandate
- Enhanced capacities and structures
- Enhanced training and readiness standards
- High degree of mobility
- Modern technology
- The commitment of the UN Security Council and the willingness of troop and police contributors to implement a resolution

Coordination with the US was essential

- The UN put out requests to a handful of top-tier countries in 2017 as the term of the Mali mission's previous commander, Danish Maj.-Gen. Michael Lollersgaard, came to an end. Sajjan said he wanted to talk to his American counterpart, Defence Secretary James Mattis, before Canada sent peacekeepers to Africa because co-ordination with the U.S. was essential
- ⇒ Canada decided to end its contribution of 200 Canadian forces to UN operation in Mali once its term ended
 - Refused to extend its stay
 - **Canada withdrew from afghanistan in 2014**

Taliban Resiliency

- Afghanistan has been dubbed “the Forgotten War” by academics and journalists
- The United States withdrew from Afghanistan in August 2021.
- We will now return to discussing Afghanistan again, although Canada withdrew in 2014. NATO did not withdraw until August 2021 with US.
 - The Taliban’s resiliency and the emergence of ISIS resulted in significant territorial losses and casualties among Afghan National Security Forces.
 - After the Canadian withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014, the Taliban and affiliated groups took over the districts and villages that Canadian forces secured and rebuilt.

Should Canada support more “Peace Support Operations” (e.g. in Central Asia, like in Afghanistan?)

- Do you think the US and Canada should contribute more forces to NATO as a possible rapid-reaction force in Ukraine, Afghanistan, Libya and/or Mali?

Why not South Sudan instead of Mali?

UN Peacekeeping operation in Mali

- Not to be forgotten Ben Maure draws your attention to the Canadian government’s contribution of 250 soldiers to the UN peacekeeping operation in Mali.
- He suggested this would be a great place to obtain more pay from the UN and because it is less expensive to live there (\$100 a day) he suggests police and soldiers can save money for a mortgage in Toronto or for their lives.
- This is very true but there is also danger pay – which we discuss.
- **MORE MONEY AND LESS EXPENSIVE TO LIVE THERE**

Elite Joint Task Force 2 going to Afghanistan:

- A chain of events that began on September 11, 2001, led to Canada’s elite Joint Task Force 2 going to Afghanistan. They were followed by other Canadian soldiers who joined American and British troops already fighting to topple the Taliban regime, eliminate terrorist operations and establish schools and institutions, with the goal of creating lasting peace in the troubled country.

Send Peacekeeping trainers to Afghanistan

- Canada needed to reverse the trend of its declining participation in peacekeeping and make a commitment to send peacekeeping trainers to Afghanistan. Returning to Afghanistan under NATO auspices gave Canada higher peacekeeping profile in a shorter time frame, before 2021. But as you can hear in the Inspector’s voice and body language, he was not comfortable with serving as a police officer in a military operation that was under NATO’s umbrella. Note how diplomatic he is when he talks about this and how he gently moves the topic onto another topic.

The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)

- Under chapter VII of the UN Charter, nine UN Security Council resolutions authorized the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in 2001. Upon request of the UN and Afghanistan, NATO took command of ISAF in 2003. Canada initially contributed more than 700 Forces members, to be stationed in Kabul and the surrounding area.
- *Peacekeeping and peace enforcement operation*
- In 2005, Canada went back to the Kandahar region. This deployment coincided with a resurgence in Taliban activity, and the number of Canadian soldiers who took part in large-scale offensives against Taliban forces, like **Operation Medusa** in 2006, increased to approximately 2,300

Taliban's Resiliency and the emergence of ISIL:

- The 2017 World Report by Human Rights Watch reported that the Taliban's resiliency (tough) and the emergence of ISIL were resulting in significant territorial losses and casualties among the Afghan National Security Forces. Ben Maure helped train the police as part of the Afghan National Police. Later Canada withdrew from Kandahar province. Then the Taliban and affiliated groups took over the districts and villages that Canadian forces secured and rebuilt.
- It is interesting to hear Maure talk about how they trained police officers in Afghanistan. He talks about a long line of 32 personnel including translators. What happened to the translators? → We talk about that in the recording you must watch

The RCMP supported security sector reform in Afghanistan

- The Canadian government deployed RCMP officers like Maure to help support security sector reform in Afghanistan. They were deployed to contribute humanitarian and security operations in the war-torn nation of Afghanistan and to signal Canada's renewed commitment to UN peacekeeping and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as burnish our country's already stellar peacekeeping record.

NATO's Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan:

- NATO diplomats continued to argue that the Canadian Armed Forces could be capable of taking a greater military role to support NATO's Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan.
- They appreciated Canada's contribution of 250 troops to help defend Latvia.
- Moreover, they were thankful for Canada's contribution to support NATO's newest mission in Iraq, where 250 more Canadians are in charge of training.
- Where should Canada go next?

Suicide attacks killed more military personnel

- Maure talks about how military personnel and civilians in Afghanistan were trained to cope with possible suicide bombers, like young boys ages 12 to 16 years old. As Canada's role in Afghanistan became increasingly unpopular, Canada's combat role ended in 2011, and the focus shifted to training Afghanistan's army and police force. Operation Attention was the Canadian contribution to the training mission in Afghanistan. It delivered training and professional development support to the Afghan National Security Forces, including the air force and police. In 2014 — due to domestic pressures and political expediency — Canada's participation in the NATO-led UN peacekeeping operation ceased under Stephen Harper's government. The last of Canada's service members left the country in March 2014 after 13 years in Afghanistan.

Devastated Country:

- **IMPOSSIBLE FOR CANADA TO GO BACK**
- Re-engaging in Afghanistan will be impossible. It involves too many risks, as there are in any theatre of war. But it is worse now. For example, the death toll from one of the worst terrorist attacks in Kabul's city centre in 2017 was 150. Now that the Taliban entirely control the capital city of Kabul, it would be very difficult to topple the government. Could it be attacked? The Western allies and NATO have no more interest in involvement now that the United States has departed and taken its elite protection forces.

The Resolute Support Mission

- We cannot ignore the low morale and rampant corruption that was prevalent among the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF). The Resolute Support Mission was continually augmented with military expertise and technical assistance from more NATO allies, like Canada. But in the end, once the United States began to withdraw more troops, it was unclear which NATO allies could be counted upon to contribute more. The Germans and the Italians decided in April 2021 to withdraw. All these countries continued to allocate financial aid. But now there are concerns the money would be channelled into supporting the Taliban so the sources of money have entirely dried up → widespread starvation and lack of food

Returning to Afghanistan:

- Returning to Afghanistan, rather than starting anew in Ukraine, to help provide long-term stability would require the direct involvement of Canadian military and foreign service professionals, as well as reservists, to help train Afghan soldiers and police. It will not happen.
- In the name of the 158 members of the Armed Forces who lost their lives in Afghanistan, Canada could take the lead in protecting Afghanistan's nascent schools and institutions and re-engage with NATO in leading Afghanistan toward security sector reform.
- But essentially this cannot happen now – the time for reform and nation-building has ended in a shocking defeat.

Transitioning the Taliban from an armed movement to a political party

- Discussions with diplomats from Kabul, Afghanistan, however, indicate that another path toward an elusive peace in Afghanistan would be to focus on transitioning the Taliban from an armed movement to a political party.
 - Was a maybe now a NO
- **Can it happen? → It seems unlikely right now** (the world will not accept the Taliban as a legitimate government)
 - Their attitude towards education, women, etc will never be accepted

Proposing development of a rapid reaction capability

- Canada, once the leading contributor to UN peace missions, had more than 3,000 troops deployed at the peak in the early 1990s. The Chrétien Liberal government further demonstrated its commitment to the UN and peacekeeping by producing a study proposing development of a rapid reaction capability for the United Nations.
 - No funding for it
- The study was submitted in 1995 to the UN on the occasion of its 50th anniversary, but the proposal was stymied by the United States' opposition to it and the lack of funding. We talk about Rapid-Reaction and a possible United Nations Emergency Service in my other classes.

UNEPS

- It would be an emergency 'UN 911' force that could be relied upon when other nations seek to avoid involvement in offshore conflicts and avoid burgeoning costs.
- A Canadian initiative to set up a UNEPS would complement existing arrangements and ensure rapid and reliable first responders.
 - Howard Peter Mantel

Pearson Peacekeeping Centre:

- Established 1991 → would enable the departments of National Defence and Global Affairs, as well as the Canadian Forces, the RCMP and volunteer civilians, to focus on the threats and challenges of peacekeeping
- While it may be unrealistic to expect the government to commit to return to Afghanistan, it would take very little time, effort and money to announce the re-establishment of the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre. Such a centre, with its hub in Kingston/Ottawa and with spokes across the country from Halifax to Vancouver

Canadian Forces Base Cornwallis

- Our original proposal to establish a Canadian and multinational peacekeeping training centre at Canadian Forces Base Cornwallis was endorsed by three provincial parties and the premier of Nova Scotia (Brian Mulroney's Conservative government rejected it). In 1993, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien announced his government's commitment to convert Canadian Forces Base Cornwallis, in Nova Scotia, into a peacekeeping training centre for UN and NATO personnel.

Lester B. Pearson International Peacekeeping Training Centre (PPC)

- The Lester B. Pearson International Peacekeeping Training Centre (known as the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, or PPC) was established in Cornwallis in 1994. There, the government planned to sponsor training for military and civilian personnel from countries participating in NATO's Partnership for Peace, as well as from developing countries under Canada's Military Training Assistance Program. But, from the start, the new centre was plagued by cost-cutting, poor management and infighting about the centre's remote location.
- Teacher asked Pearson's son Jeffrey to use this name

PPC was closed down by the Harper government in 2013

- Eventually the PPC was moved to Kingston (remote → forces people to work together instead of going shipping), but it was no more successful there in its aim to train Canadian and multinational forces, as was originally envisioned. Experts in peacekeeping still vaunt the merits of the Cornwallis location. As Vesselin Garvalov, the acting director of NATO's Weapons of Mass Destruction Centre, fondly recalled in an off-record briefing in September, the remote location in rural Nova Scotia forced participants to work together, often for days on end, away from the distractions of the big city. After it struggled for survival for many years, the PPC was closed down by the Harper government in 2013

Lesson 4-3: Interview with Benoit Maure (author of Leading at the Edge)

Biography

- Maure, Ben (Benoit) Maure is a serving Peace Officer with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
- He has over 34 years of police experience, most of which has been spent in British Columbia.
- In 1999, Ben completed a one-year secondment tour of duty as a United Nations Peacekeeper in Quetzaltenango, Guatemala.
- Between 2009 and 2013, Ben acted as a Police Liaison Officer (First Secretary) at the Embassy of Canada in the Dominican Republic.
- He is fluent in French, English and Spanish and has a command of the German language.
- Ben holds a Bachelor of Technology degree from the British Columbia Institute of Technology (BCIT) and a Master of Arts degree in Social Justice from the University of the Fraser Valley (UFV).
- He is passionate about peace studies and international policing.

- Ben is also a recipient of the Governor General's Meritorious Service Cross (M.S.C.).
- Ben is the author of a recently published book on Canadian Police Peacekeeping titled: *Leading at the Edge: True Tales from Canadian Police in Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping Missions around the World*
- The book is a collection of ten short biographical stories about the work of Canadian police peacebuilders and peacekeepers overseas.
- Through the stories, the reader is transported to new and fledgling democracies such as Namibia, Croatia, Guatemala, Kosovo, East Timor, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Jerusalem, Afghanistan and Haiti.
- *Leading at the Edge* is a reference for anyone who loves history, travel, adventure and who has an interest in social science and criminology. It is also a reference for police officers, people interested in foreign diplomacy, international affairs, military affairs, criminal justice reforms, humanitarian work or for anyone who has an interest in peacekeeping.
- In this book, you will learn about the work of Canadian police peacekeepers in international operations and vicariously experience their efforts through full-colour photographs provided by the peacekeepers themselves.
- This book will demonstrate that peacebuilding and peacekeeping continue to be pillars for human security especially in light of recent worldwide attacks on democracy by terrorist groups.
- Canada and the rest of the world have a crucial role to play in helping those nations respect human rights, build up their economies and ensure they have the tools to fight back terrorism for the prosperity of their citizens

PART 1 of Interview: Democratic Peacebuilding

- Passion in international policing - he likes the challenge (no day is the same)
- What is a police officer in Canada doing in another country?
 - Canada's vision of making the world a better place
 - Trade and better economy → promote human rights
 - Democratic policing to those fledgling countries
 - What is democratic policing → police reform through various capacity development
 - Promote a public force that is publicly accountable and that is subject to the law and respect for human rights
 - Ex: Training the local police, support free elections ins Namibia
- Canada has participated in 33 missions → deployed 4000 police officers
- Special deployment assignment (bilateral agreement) → Ukraine and Palestine
- Maure mission in Guatemala → worked with a lawyer
- **Namibia** → was run by South Africa in 1989 but gained its independence (pushed by the UN) → Canada was there to facilitate free elections
 - Leadership challenge → Ex: UN peacekeeper (Not a member of Canadian member) to safe keep water BUT the peacekeeper blackmailed the women in the village to have sex with them for water
- Goal of **Afghanistan mission** → form the afghan police and train them in human rights but the landscape was so dangerous
 - **Ex: military footpatrol (around 32 people)** → one police waved for a kid to pass the footpatrol while crossing the road → during debrief, the other foot patrols were mad at him because the kid could have had explosives and endangered everyone in the team
 - Team includes translators
- **Guatemala mission** (Maure went on this one) = monitoring of peace accord (12 peace accords)

- His role was various - worked on land reform, bringing back refugees, **return of demoralized fighters**
 - He reported the living conditions to the UN → was moved to a place with better living conditions
 - Need Programs to teach locals → given a coffee plantation (how to cultivate, accounting)
 - Colonizing them and “forcing” them to plan coffee crops instead of their own
 - In Spanish and he had no translator

PART 2 of Interview: How to get into Policing and Intelligence

- **Maure worked for the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS)**, collecting info that would help country
 - Intelligence gathering (+field of intelligence)
 - Don't have to collect it beyond reasonable doubt - not always supported 100% (because the means are so secretive)
 - Can use intelligence under national security investigations, special laws (certain criminal cases), in courts you cannot just rely on intelligence (is usually just the start and you support with other evidence but is still crucial)
- **Languages**
 - The more the better because it open doors
 - Maure loves languages and cultures
 - Originally from montreal but now his office is in Vancouver
 - *How much French do you need to know to operate an RCMP plot?*
 - Important as an asset in government especially for advancement
 - **Ex: Mali** → need french to go on that mission (lots of advantages of being selected to go on a UN mission → experience, higher pay (danger pay, living allowance from the UN, tax free))
- **In order to join CSIS:**
 - Rumour is that payscale is low
 - But you can capitulate on the experience - Maure was in counterterrorism
 - All volunteer to go to another country mission
 - Maure thinks they are very selective but very COOL
 - Polygraph = lie detector (intelligence test)
 - CSIS is a small group

LESSON 5

Introduction to the UN, Canada and Global Governance

The new UN Secretary-General Erika Simpson will rule for one day only. Who is the longest-serving UN Secretary-General?

- A. A.Dag Hammarskjold (1953-1961)
- B. B.Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (1982-1991)
- C. C.Kurt Waldheim (1972-81)

- D. D.Trygve Lie (1946-1952)
- E. **E.U Thant (1961-1971)**

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- C. Kurt Waldheim (1972-81)
- D. Trygve Lie (1946-1952)
- E. **U Thant (1961-1971), a record-serving 10 years and one month**

The UN Security Council is composed of 5 permanent member states. Which five are in the P5?

- A. Canada, France, the United Kingdom, the U.S. and Russia
- B. China, France, the United Kingdom, the U.S. and the USSR
- C. China, France, Great Britain, the U.S. and Russia
- D. China, Germany, the United Kingdom, the U.S. and Russia
- E. **China, France, the United Kingdom, the U.S. and Russia**

Each of the P5 has a _____ [fill in the blank] over any substantive matter that comes before the Council.

- A. interest
- B. say
- C. sway
- D. **veto**
- E. Vote

There are also ____ [fill in the blank] non-permanent members, elected by the UN General Assembly in accordance with an agreed geographical formula for 2-year terms.

- A. 5
- B. **10**
- C. 15
- D. 30
- E. 120

The UN operates in six official languages:

- A. **Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Spanish, Russian**
- B. Arabic, English, French, Mandarin, Spanish, Chinese, Russian
- C. Arabic, Cantonese, English, French, Spanish, Russian
- D. Arabic, Chinese, English, German, Spanish, Russian
- E. Arabic, Chinese, Esperanto, French, Spanish, Russian

Need to know at least one of the 6 languages **

The United Nations Today: A Primer

The heart of the UN is the _____, a forum in which all State Parties can send representatives to sit in session, present opinions, and vote on resolutions, which need a majority to pass.

- A. Assembly
- B. **General Assembly**

- C. Quiet Room
- D. Security Council
- E. UN corridors

The UN was established in San Francisco 19___. Eventually, the UN headquarters was moved from London (England) to _____.

- A. 39, San Francisco
- B. 18, Ottawa
- C. 56, Bombay
- D. 45, New York City (NYC)**
- E. 91, Trump Tower

Collective security is a system of international order in which all states will respect each other's recognized territorial boundaries and aggression by any state will be met by a collective response. In other words, an attack on _____ will be considered an attack on _____ and dealt with accordingly. This differs from a _____ system which is a traditional alliance aimed at potential aggressors outside the membership of the system.

- A. one, all, collective defence**
- B. others, them, coalition of states
- C. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), North Korea, balance of power
- D. the UN, all, North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- E. you, me, collective defence

Your Understanding of Issues Affecting the UN Today

The regular budget of the UN (not including peacekeeping, which is assessed differently) is approximately (check off the answer):

- A. US\$800 million
- B. US \$ 1.2 billion**
- C. US \$ 12 billion
- D. US \$136 billion
- E. Nobody knows.

Issues affecting the UN today? Many UN member states have not paid their:

- A. assessments
- B. bills
- C. debts
- D. dues
- E. all these answers are correct**

As the UN Ambassador representing your country or "State Party" you can decide what issues you want to discuss at the UN and what Resolutions you want to co-sponsor. You don't need any practice writing Resolutions as you are the Ambassador! But you can listen to some advice on Writing a UN Resolution. Do you intend to write your own Resolution?

- A. Yes, of course! I am the Ambassador.**
- B. No, I do not intend to write any Resolutions.**
- C. I have not decided whether to write a Resolution.**
- D. I will consult my capital**
- E. I am a student and not an Ambassador Silly Professor!**

Under [Article 19 of the Charter](#), a Member State in arrears in the payment of its dues in an amount that equals or exceeds the contributions due for two preceding years can lose its vote in the General Assembly. An exception is allowed if the Member State can show that conditions beyond its control contributed to this inability to pay. According to [The GA Handbook](#), what is the 'silence procedure'?

- A. Burma (Myanmar) – silence in the GA if the improper name is stated by a diplomat
- B. Comoros has not paid its dues and therefore stays silent
- C. Cuba, DPRK, Iran, Iraq undergo procedure of silence so long as they are in arrears
- D. At the end of negotiations, delegates may need to get final approval from their governments so the draft resolution is declared to be in silence procedure for a specified time.**

What country that cannot vote today is identified on this map?

- A. Comoros**
- B. Dominican Republic
- C. Guinea-Bissau
- D. Sao Tome and Principe
- E. Somalia

For example, Canada pays its regular budget assessment in full within the 30 day due period. On January 11, Canada paid its net assessment in \$US of:

- A. 27,883
- B. 32,092,485
- C. 2,230,581
- D. 75,493,777 (approximately \$75.49 million US = Cdn \$104.1 million or approximately \$100 million Cdn dollars)**
- E. 0 – Canada did not pay its net assessment in January 2019

Canada always pays on time

What number of Member States paid in full by end of 2021?

- A. 153**
- B. 135
- C. 35
- D. 39
- E. 193

[How many member-states are in the UN today?](#)

- A. 193**
- B. 240
- C. 152
- D. 330
- E. Unknown

Is the US paid up?

- ➔ The United States is the biggest financial contributor to UN peacekeeping operations, usually assessed at between 22-28% of the UN budget – but the U.S. hasn't yet paid its contribution for 2022 and still has arrears (owes money) from 2014-2021.

Has the U.S. paid its dues this year?

- ➔ When President Biden gave his speech [criticizing Russia at the UN General Assembly in September 2022](#), the U.S. was not paid up. When [President Trump made his explosive UN speech at the UN](#), the U.S. was not paid up. When [President Obama delivered his last speech to the UN](#), the U.S. was not paid up its peacekeeping dues.

- Click on the pictures and you can hear the speeches of the US Presidents who have not paid for UN peacekeeping operations.

In total, the U.S. owes peacekeeping dues totaling more than \$2 billion, according to information provided to UN Tribune from the United Nations budget office. What was the *entire budget* for UN peacekeeping operations from 2017 to 2018 when Donald Trump was U.S. President?

- A. \$2 billion
- B. \$6.8 billion**
- C. \$100 billion
- D. \$1 trillion
- E. Unknown

Will the U.S. pay its dues under U.S. President Joseph Biden?

Will there be an increase to US voluntary contributions to international bodies?

- A. Highly likely**
- B. Very likely**
- C. Not likely**
- D. I don't know**
- E. Who knows**

All answers are correct. Therefore this type of question will not be posted on any quiz, mid-term exam or final exam.

The quiz, mid-term and final exams are *not* open book. You are not allowed to open your Powerpoint Slides. You must take the tests without consulting.

You are expected to write the quiz and exams without consulting your slides and/or notes. Professor Simpson does not deal with such charges. You are dealt with at the level of the Dean's Office for your Faculty.

The UN has been criticized for being unrepresentative, with the composition of the UN Security Council reflecting the old distribution of power, while excluding emergent countries like:

- A. China
- B. France
- C. Germany**
- D. United Kingdom
- E. United States

The UN has been criticized for being unrepresentative, with the composition of the UN Security Council reflecting the old distribution of power, while excluding emergent countries like:

- A. China (P5 – already a member)
- B. France (P5 – already a member)
- C. Germany (or list India, Pakistan, Nigeria, South Africa instead of Germany here because the others are in P5)**
- D. United Kingdom (P5 – already a member)
- E. United States (P5 – already a member)

As it states in the first sentence of the Preamble to the UN charter, the UN was intended to:

- A. **“save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”**
- B. “perform so many valuable functions that if it did not exist, it would likely have to be created”
- C. “act as a truly international organization, discarding any national obligations stated may have toward their home states”
- D. “commit member states to resolve their difference peacefully and refrain from the use of force”
- E. all of these answers are correct

Your preparation to work as a UN Ambassador:

UN Peacekeeping

The conflict management provisions of the UN are found in:

- A. the Preamble to the UN Charter.
- B. **chapters Six and Seven of the UN Charter**
- C. nowhere written down
- D. Lester Pearson’s Nobel Peace Prize speech of 1957
- E. all the above

Chapter Six calls on member states to resolve their disputes through

- A. negotiation, enquiry, mediation
- B. arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements
- C. other peaceful means of their own choice
- D. **All of these answers are correct**

Chapter 7 of the UN charter:

Chapter Seven is the heart of the collective security function of the UN. In Chapter Seven, the UN Security Council can call on member states to observe measures directed at the dispute that do not involve the use of force. These are commonly *sanctions in some form*, including:

- A. trade boycotts
- B. embargoes
- C. restrictions on financial interactions
- D. restrictions on access to overseas assets or financial institutions
- E. **all of these answers are correct**

If these measures prove inadequate, the UN Security Council can invoke Article ___ [insert a number] which allows for “*such action by air, sea, or naval forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security, such actions may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of members of the United Nations.*”

- A. 5
- B. 7
- C. V
- D. VI
- E. **42**

Article 42 can be invoked.

Since 1945, the UN has created many peacekeeping missions, a remarkable achievement considering that peacekeeping is an entirely provisional activity and not even mentioned in the UN Charter. How many UN peacekeeping missions are currently ongoing and led by the UN's Department of Peacekeeping Missions (DPKO)?

- A. 3
- B. 12**
- C. 45
- D. 69
- E. 184

Since 1945, DPKO has operated many peacekeeping missions, a remarkable achievement considering that peacekeeping is an entirely provisional activity and not even mentioned in the UN Charter. How many UN peacekeeping missions have been deployed by the UN?

- A. 3
- B. 15**
- C. 45
- D. 69
- E. 184

The term “peacekeeping” was not coined until 1956 when a crisis prompted the creation of the first United Nations Emergency Force, known by its acronyms as UNEF I. What was the crisis in 1956?

- A. Cuban Missile Crisis
- B. Hungarian Crisis
- C. October Crisis
- D. Suez Crisis**
- E. Syrian Crisis
- F. Vietnam Crisis

Which country proposed the creation of UNEF I, and supplied a draft resolution and presented it to the General Assembly for approval?

- A. Brazil
- B. Dag Hammarskjöld
- C. Egypt
- D. Canada**
- E. United States

The conventions of “traditional” or “steady-state” peacekeeping have included:

- A. impartiality (no side could be seen as being favored by UN peacekeepers; no side could be identified as an aggressor)
- B. non-hostile and lightly-armed personnel (so peacekeepers were generally armed with service rifles and side arms for self-defense only)
- C. consent (so consent of the parties to the dispute was required before a UN force could be dispatched)
- D. non-territoriality (so peacekeeping operations did not attempt to seize or hold territory).
- E. all of these answers are correct**

Evolution of UN peacekeeping:

- First generation: traditional peacekeeping (1948-1990)
- Second generation: expanded peacekeeping that included peace enforcement operations (1990-1995)

- Third generation: expanded peacekeeping within the limits of the UN's ability. More complex, similar in size and focused on peace building. Generally this does not include peace enforcement (Chapter VII) operations (1995-1999)
- Fourth generation: expanded peacekeeping, but the United Nations is taking on more peacebuilding activities. Lead nations and regional organizations conducting peace enforcement operations

The conventions of "second-generation", "contemporary" or "modern" peace-keeping include:

- A. deployment within states (so supervisory, observer, or interpositionary tasks may be performed between warring states and also between warring parties within states).
- B. lack of consent where there was no central government to provide consent (as in UNPROFOR in the former Yugoslavia and UNOSOM II in Somalia)
- C. increased use of force (so a greater level of force is allowed against warring parties, and in turn UN contingents can become more heavily armed)
- D. proliferation of mission tasks (so peacekeeping now includes electoral support of management, refugee settlement, delivery of humanitarian relief supplies).
- E. **all of these answers are correct**

Was UNPROFOR a failure?

The UN experience in Yugoslavia was a failure because:

- A. the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) failed to bring peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina
- B. UN-declared "safe areas" became not-so-safe areas, as they were overrun by Bosnian Serbs
- C. UN personnel were shot at and taken hostage
- D. all sides during the Bosnian war routinely defied the UN
- E. **all of these answers are correct**

The UN experience in Yugoslavia was a failure because:

- A. **the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) failed to bring peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina**
- B. **UN-declared "safe areas" became not-so-safe areas, as they were overrun by Bosnian Serbs**
- C. **UN personnel were shot at and taken hostage**
- D. **all sides during the Bosnian war routinely defied the UN**
- E. **all of these answers are NOT correct because the UN experience in Yugoslavia was not a failure -- but a good learning experience (another type of question that would not be posed on the quiz, mid-term etc.). Questions that ask about your opinion cannot be posed.**

The UN experience in Somalia was a failure because:

- A. **there were some casualties to UN forces**
- B. **UNITAF and its replacement, UNOSOM II, failed to establish a peace settlement**
- C. **UNOSOM II had to be withdrawn in March 1995**
- D. **yes**
- E. **this question is biased and there is no correct answer to this question**

Was UN PK in Rwanda a failure?

After the call for the creation of a UN peacekeeping force for Rwanda, how many countries immediately responded to the initial call from the United Nations for contributions to the operation?

- A. **0**
- B. 2
- C. 14
- D. 28

E. 57

Six months later, in October 1993, how many troops were deployed in Rwanda under the UN's peacekeeping operation, UNAMIR?

- A. 135
- B. 550**
- C. 1500
- D. 14,000
- E. 20,000

General Romeo D'Allaire, the Canadian contingent commander, later claimed that they could have stopped the genocide of 500,000 people if they had 5,000 troops.

- A. true**
- B. false
- C. he is lying
- D. his testimony is invalid as he had to go on stress leave due to [Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder](#) (PTSD)
- E. I don't know

Canada's proposal to prevent genocide and help out UN peacekeeping

In 1995, Canada released a proposal at the UN to establish a:

- A. United Nations Rapid Reaction Capability
- B. a UN Disaster Assistance Relief Team (DART)
- C. a Smart Mining Assistance Relief Team (SMART)
- D. a NATO Rapid Reaction Capability
- E. Canada did not strongly back any proposals at the UN due to American opposition to any kind of UN rapid reaction capability**

If your country were to draw up a UN Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) or UN 911, what forces and capabilities might you be willing to make available to the UN on short notice?

- A. We would contribute _____
- B. We would contribute _____
- C. We would have to consult with _____
- D. We would contribute trained military personnel and/or civilians including _____
- E. The UN equipment stockpile would be enhanced with our _____ and our _____.

****LINK FOR THIS QUESTION IS BROKEN AND DOES NOT EXIST HENCE WHY FILL IN THE BLANKS IS EMPTY****

In Professor Simpson's opinion, as she said in the lecture, how important are the UN and peacekeeping to maintaining world peace?

- A. not at all important
- B. unimportant
- C. somewhat important
- D. very important
- E. so important that "if we didn't have the UN, we'd have to invent it."**

UN is a 'talk shop' for the world – it is a global cafeteria – it is a form of global commons.

Lesson 7: How to learn from UN resolutions :

UN Procedures:

General Rules

- **RULE #1 - LANGUAGE:** English will be the official and working language of the conference.
- **RULE #2 - CREDENTIALS:** The credentials of all delegations have been accepted.
- **RULE #3 - PARTICIPATION OF NON-MEMBERS:** Observers from Non-Member States (e.g. Palestine) will have the same rights as those of full members, except that they may not vote on any substantive issues.
- **RULE #4 - QUORUM:** The Secretary-General will permit debate to proceed when at least one-quarter of the members of Assembly are present. The presence of a simple majority (50% + 1) of the members will be required for any substantive vote. A quorum will be assumed to be present unless specifically challenged and shown to be absent.
- **RULE #5 - COURTESY:** Delegates will show courtesy and respect to the staff and to other delegates.

Rules Governing Debate

- **RULE #6 - ELECTRONICS:** Use of electronic devices by delegates is allowed during formal debate. But please turn off your cell phone ringer as a courtesy to others.
- **RULE #7 – AGENDA:** The first order of business will be the consideration of the agenda.
- A motion should be made once the Assembly has come to order to put a resolution first on the agenda.
- A “for-against” Speakers’ List will be established to debate each motion.
- A motion to close debate on each resolution will be in order after the Assembly has heard at least two speakers for the motion and at least two against the motion. When debate is closed for each resolution, the committee will move to an immediate vote on the motion. The Secretary-General or a representative may call upon a delegate to table debate on the current topic area so that a more urgent matter may be attended to immediately.
- The only resolutions that may be proposed for the agenda are those presented in electronic form with signatories, in the preparation materials, at the front of the room. The motions that have the most number of signatories will be debated first on the agenda.
- Once the agenda has been determined, one continuously open Speakers’ List will be established for the purpose of general debate. This Speakers’ List will be followed for all debate on the topic area, except when interrupted by procedural motions or discussion of amendments.
- **CLOSURE OF DEBATE:** When the floor is open, a delegate may move to close debate on the substantive or procedural matter under discussion. Or the Secretary-General may recognize closure of the debate should occur. Closure of debate could require the support of two-thirds of the Assembly if an issue is contentious.
- **RULE #8 - SUSPENSION OR ADJOURNMENT OF THE MEETING:** Whenever the floor is open, a delegate may move for the suspension of the meeting or for the adjournment of the meeting. When in order, these motions are not debatable, but will be immediately put to a vote barring any motions taking precedence and they require a two-thirds majority to pass.
- **RULE #9 - POSTPONEMENT AND RESUMPTION OF DEBATE (TABLING):** Whenever the floor is open, a delegate may move for the postponement of debate on a draft resolution or amendment currently on the floor. It requires a two-thirds vote to pass and will be debatable to the extent of two speakers in favor and two opposed. The Secretary-General can also over-rule the postponement and resumption of debate (tabling) if s/he rules that the move was frivolous for the purpose of filibustering.

Rules governing speeches:

- **RULE #10 - SPEAKERS’ LISTS:** The Committee will have an open Speakers’ List for the topic area being discussed. Separate Speakers’ Lists will be established as needed for procedural motions and debate on amendments. A country may add its name to a Speakers’ List by submitting a request in writing to the dais or raising the country’s placard. At any time, a Secretary-General may call for members that wish to be added to the Speakers’ List.
- **RULE #11 - SPEECHES:** Speeches must be made in the third person and no delegate may directly address another delegation.
- **RULE #12 - ABSENCE:** Delegates who are absent from committee (for example, they are in the UN cafeteria) when recognized by the dais forfeit their time.
- **RULE #13 - RIGHT OF REPLY:** A delegate whose personal or national integrity has been impugned by another delegate may submit a request for a Right of Reply in writing or in person to the staff or the Secretary-General’s assistant.

Rules governing points:

- RULE #14 - POINTS OF PERSONAL PRIVILEGE: A Point of Personal Privilege may interrupt a speaker only if the speaker is inaudible and delegates should use this power with the utmost discretion.
- RULE #15 - POINTS OF ORDER: During the discussion of any matter, a delegate may rise to a Point of Order to indicate an instance of improper parliamentary procedure. A Point of Order may not interrupt a speaker.
- RULE #16 - POINTS OF PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY: When the floor is open, a delegate may rise to a Point of Parliamentary Inquiry to ask the Secretary-General a question regarding the rules of procedure. A Point of Parliamentary Inquiry may never interrupt a speaker.
- RULE #17 - SIGNATORIES FOR DRAFT RESOLUTIONS: A motion to introduce a draft resolution will be in order when it receives the approval of the Secretary-General and is signed by members in the General Assembly. The expected number of signatories required for each resolution will be publicized at the beginning of the conference. **Signing a draft resolution need not indicate support of the draft resolution.** Signing a draft resolution only indicates a desire for the draft resolution to be discussed in the Assembly. The signatory has no further obligations. A delegate may be a signatory on more than one resolution.
- RULE #18 - INTRODUCTION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS: Once a draft resolution has the requisite number of signatories, has been sent to the Secretary-General (simpson@uwo.ca), and has been read to the Assembly and/or displayed on the screen, a delegate may indicate a desire to speak on behalf or against the draft resolution.
- RULE #19 - CLARIFICATORY POINTS ON RESOLUTIONS: At the Secretary-General's discretion, s/he may recognize a delegate or group of delegates rising to answer clarificatory points on an introduced draft resolution, or the Secretary-General may answer these points him or herself.
- RULE #20 - AMENDMENTS: Delegates may amend any draft resolution which has been introduced. Only one amendment may be introduced at any given time. **An amendment must have the approval of the Secretary-General and be agreed to by at least two of the original signatories of the motion.** After the amendment, debate will resume according to the general Speakers' List on the topic.

Rules governing voting:

- RULE #21 - PROCEDURAL VOTING: All voting is considered procedural with the exception of voting on draft resolutions and amendments.
- RULE #22 - SUBSTANTIVE VOTING: The only substantive voting will be voting on draft resolutions and amendments. All other votes will be procedural votes.
- RULE #23 - ROLL CALL VOTING: After debate is closed on any topic area, any delegate may request a roll call vote on any draft resolution being considered but the Sec-General will rule on whether such a roll call needs to be taken, due to the time constraints involved
- 51 Member States and resolutions were adopted by a vote. Today, in contrast, there are 193 Member States and roughly 80% of the General Assembly resolutions are adopted by consensus, that is, without taking a vote.
- When you adopt resolutions by a vote, you only need to get a simple majority (50% + 1) to agree on the text of a resolution. You don't need to care about or try to understand the perspectives of the minority who disagree. This process is divisive.
- When you adopt resolutions by consensus, you have to be concerned about the viewpoint of everyone and engage in negotiations that often result in compromises so that different points of view are taken into consideration. This process is inclusive.
- Given the dramatic increase in Member States over time, reaching the widest possible agreement is more vital today than ever. Because the General Assembly's resolutions are recommendations and not legally binding on Member States, reaching consensus has evolved as a way to ensure the widest possible implementation of GA decisions.
- In Model UN (MUN) simulations, delegates do not even consider implementation and therefore have not learned the value of reaching consensus over voting. Most resolutions at a MUN conference are adopted by a vote. This way of operating is stuck in the past and does not reflect how the UN has changed. Moreover, by valuing voting over reaching consensus, most simulations do not model the negotiation process that is required in order to reach consensus. You cannot truly understand the UN as an institution without understanding the decision-making process as it has evolved at the UN since 1945.

Precedence of motions:

PRECEDENCE: Motions will be considered in the following order of precedence:

1. Point of Personal Privilege (Rule 14)
2. Point of Order (Rule 15)
3. Point of Parliamentary Inquiry (Rule 16)
4. Adjournment of the Meeting (Rule 8)
5. Suspension of the Meeting (Rule 8)
6. Motion to Change Speaking Time (Rule 18)
7. Introduction of a Draft Resolution (Rule 18)
8. Introduction of an Amendment (Rule 20)
9. Postponement of Debate (Rule 9)
10. Resumption of Debate (Rule 10)
11. **Closure of Debate** (Rule 7)

At the start of final voting procedure, only the following points and motions are in order, in the following order of precedence:

1. Point of Personal Privilege (Rule 14)
2. Point of Order (Rule 15)
3. Point of Parliamentary Inquiry (Rule 16)
4. Reordering Draft Resolutions (Rule 7)
5. Motion for a Placard Roll Call Vote (Rule 23) so wave your Placard to vote

Format your resolution:

Your heading should be in bold or capital letters, above the main body of the resolution.

On the left margin, a couple of lines below the heading, should be:

(2) the wording of the draft resolution

(3) the signatories of the resolution.

- **Body**
- The resolution is written in the format of a long sentence. Just as grammatical rules make a language more uniform in its usage, the resolution is formatted according to rules.

Format your resolution:

- The resolution begins with "The General Assembly," The rest of the resolution consists of phrases and clauses, and uses ***Perambulatory Phrases*** that can describe the problem being addressed; recall past actions taken; explain the purpose of the resolution; and offer support for the operative clauses that follow. Each clause in the preamble begins with an underlined word and ends with a comma.
- ***Operative Clauses*** are numbered and state the action to be taken by the body. These clauses all begin with present tense active verbs, which are generally stronger words than those used in the Preamble. Each operative clause is followed by a semi-colon except the last, which ends with a period. There should be no periods in the body of the resolution.

Sample resolutions:

- **Decreasing the operational readiness of nuclear weapons systems**
- *The General Assembly,*
- *Recalling* that the maintenance of nuclear weapons on high alert was a feature of Cold War nuclear postures, and welcoming the increased confidence and transparency since the cessation of the Cold War,
- *Concerned* that, notwithstanding the end of the Cold War, several thousand nuclear weapons remain on high alert, ready to be launched within minutes,

Sample resolutions from my classroom:

- *Noting* the increased engagement in multilateral disarmament forums in support of further reductions to the operational status of nuclear weapons systems,
- *Recognizing* that reductions in deployments and the lowering of operational status contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as to the process of nuclear disarmament, through the enhancement of confidence-building and transparency measures
- Note this Resolution goes on for another two pages with many similar *Perambulatory Phrases*. Then it concludes with several **Operative Clauses**:

UN Procedures:

- Calls upon that State to accede to the Treaty without further delay and not to develop, produce, test or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons and to renounce possession of nuclear weapons, and to place all its unsafeguarded nuclear facilities under full-scope Agency safeguards as an important confidence-building measure among all States of the region and as a step towards enhancing peace and security.
- Sponsors: Chile, New Zealand, Nigeria, Sweden, Switzerland

This resolution has only 5 sponsors so on the Sec-General's proposed agenda it would be placed lower and, perhaps, not debated at all.

Sample resolutions from previous years in my classroom:

- *The threat from Iran and the necessity of the UN declaring war on Iran:*
- *Observing* that Iran is an imminent threat to democracy in the Middle East and the Free World,
- *Noting* that the President of Iran has repeatedly called for the destruction of the State of Israel and the great Western Devil (sic),
- *Warning* that if this threat goes unhindered a nuclear war will be imminent,
- *Furthermore* that the UN is devoted to peace and the prevention of the worst-case scenario: global nuclear terrorism
- *Be it resolved that* the UN declare war on Iran.
- Sponsors: The drafter of this resolution could not secure two speakers for/against so it was rejected on procedural grounds.

Sample Resolutions from My Model UNs

- **Redirecting money from energy resources in Central Asia to aid in Africa**
- **Recalling** Kazakhstan's geographic and political position, along with its vast energy resources
- **Deeply conscious** of the need for more foreign aid towards projects that relieve AIDS and poverty issues in sub-Saharan East Africa
- **Aware of** the resources from energy-exporting countries in Central Asia
- **And more aware** of the need to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015,
- **Be it resolved** that a percentage of the revenues from energy-exporting countries in Central Asia go towards foreign aid projects that relieve AIDS and poverty issues in sub-Saharan & East Africa
- Sponsors: Kazakhstan, Kenya, Uzbekistan, Ghana (for) and against: Israel, India, Haiti.
- This resolution had 7 sponsors (for/against) so it gradually rose to the top of the agenda as more sponsors contacted other Ambassadors and obtained more signatories. An additional signatory does not need to be in favour of or against the resolution. Only the two Co-Signatories at the beginning must favour the Resolution.

Can you use these Perambulatory Phrases?

- Affirming Alarmed by Approving Aware of
- Believing Bearing in mind
- Cognizant of Confident Contemplating Convinced
- Declaring Deeply concerned Deeply conscious Deeply convinced Deeply disturbed Deeply regretting Desiring
- Emphasizing Expecting Expressing its appreciation Expressing its satisfaction
- Fulfilling Fully aware Fully alarmed Fully believing Further deploring Further recalling
- Guided by

- Having adopted Having considered Having considered further Having devoted attention Having examined
- Having heard Having received Having studied
- Keeping in mind
- Noting further Noting with regret Noting with satisfaction Noting with deep concern Noting with approval
- Observing
- Realizing Reaffirming Recalling Recognizing Referring
- Seeking
- Taking into account Taking note
- Viewing with appreciation
- Welcoming

Can you use these Operative Clauses?

- Accepts
- Affirms
- Approves
- Authorizes
- Calls for
- Calls upon
- Confirms
- Considers
- Declares accordingly
- Deplores
- Draws attention
- Designates
- Emphasizes
- Encourages
- Endorses
- Expresses its appreciation
- Expresses its hope
- Further invites

Why consensus is important:

Before taking action on a draft resolution, diplomats spend hours discussing every word in the resolution in the hope of reaching agreement on the text.

When consensus on the text is reached, all of the Member States may agree to adopt the draft resolution without taking a vote. Adopting a draft without a vote is the most basic definition of what consensus means. If 193 Member States agreed on the text but there is just 1 Member State that requests a vote, then consensus is not reached.

If a General Assembly resolution is not legally binding, then the best way to encourage all Member States to implement the recommendations expressed in a resolution is to get all of them to agree on the same text.

When a resolution is adopted by a simple majority, those that did not vote in favour of a resolution on a particular agenda item will be less likely to implement the actions on an agenda item that are recommended in a resolution.

In short, if the UN Secretary-General senses a consensus, then there will be no vote and the Resolution is adopted by consensus.

Guy Roberts says that this country has adopted a nuclear strategy of “escalate to de-escalate” or “escalate to win.”

- 1 : China
- 2 : Iran
- 3 : North Korea
- 4 : United States
- 5 : Russia

Guy Roberts quotes this person and says “there is no safety for honest men but in believing in all possible evil of evil men”

- 1 : Edmund Burke
- 2 : Dwight Eisenhower
- 3 : Thomas Hobbes
- 4 : John Locke
- 5 : Harry Truman

Guy Roberts says these two countries had an intense and far-reaching rivalry, but he credits the presence of nuclear weapons as a deterrent, that prevented them from actually going to war. The correct answer receives a green checkmark.

- 1 : Soviet Union and the United States
- 2 : Germany and France
- 3 : Iran and the United States
- 4 : China and Japan
- 5 : The United Kingdom and France

Guy Roberts says that in 2019 this country launched at least 225 ballistic missiles.

- 1 : China
- 2 : Democratic People's Republic of Korea
- 3 : Iran
- 4 : Russia
- 5 : United States

Guy Roberts states that China has been transparent with its nuclear weapons proliferation.

- 1 : True
- 2 : False

LESSON 6

Conventional Wars in Kosovo, Iraq, & Afghanistan

Lesson 2: Afghanistan, Kosovo, Iraq, Mali:

- The [2022 Global Peace Index](#) reported in 2022 that Afghanistan is the least peaceful country in the world for the fifth consecutive year, followed by Yemen, Syria, Russia and South Sudan.
- Canada’s elite Joint Task Force 2 (JTF2) went to Afghanistan in 2001, followed by other Canadian soldiers who were based in Kandahar. Canadians joined American and British troops already fighting to topple the Taliban regime; eliminate terrorist operations; and establish schools and institutions bent on creating lasting peace in the troubled country.

Elite Joint Task Force 2 going to Afghanistan

- A chain of events that began on September 11, 2001, led to Canada’s elite Joint Task Force 2 going to Afghanistan. They were followed by many humanitarian organizations, trainers, peace support workers, even coffee shops like Tim Hortons.

Afghanistan under first President Karzai

- Important: The UN authorized the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in 2003. NATO took over from the UN in 2003.
- Canada initially contributed to Afghanistan more than 700 Canadian Forces members stationed in Kabul and the surrounding area.
- In 2005, Canada went back to the Kandahar region, coinciding with a resurgence in Taliban activity, and the number of Canadian soldiers increased to approximately 2,300 taking part in large-scale offensives under NATO auspices against Taliban forces.

Afghanistan

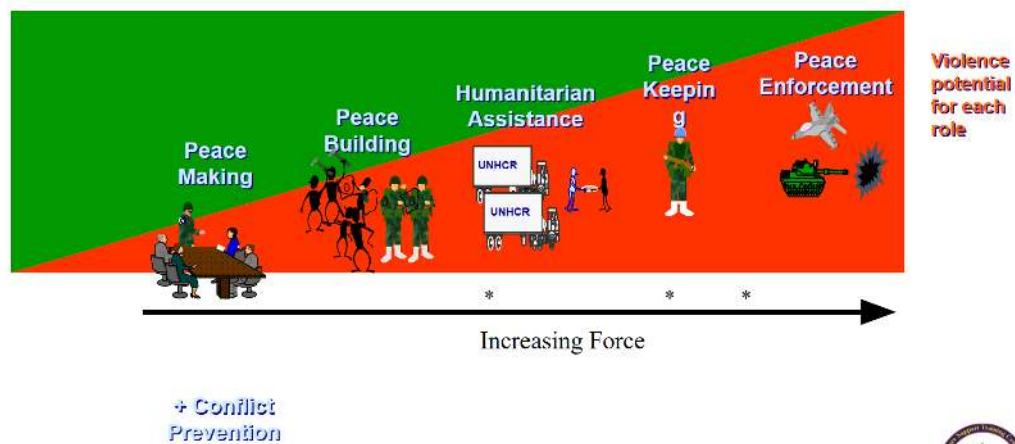
- As the war in Afghanistan became increasingly unpopular, Canada's combat role ended in 2011, and the Department of Defence's focus shifted to training Afghanistan's army and police force.
- Then Canada's participation in the UN peacekeeping operation was abruptly abandoned in 2014, under Stephen Harper's government, due to a combination of domestic pressures, political expediency and war weariness.
- The last of Canada's service members left the country in March 2014. The U.S. left in August 2021, 7 years later.
- For more than 13 years, the Canadian Forces operated in and were well-equipped for a theatre of war in Afghanistan. The United States also operated in Afghanistan for more than 20 years.

Where is Kandahar? Where is Kabul? (on exam)



158 members of the Canadian Forces were killed serving in the Afghan war.

Peacekeeping Support Operations and Different Types of PSOs (NATO doctrine)



Problems with more “Robust” Peace Enforcement

- Robustness is designed to allow a peacekeeping force to protect itself, to provide freedom of maneuver, and to prevent situations in which the implementation of the mandate, or more broadly the peace process, is ‘taken hostage’ by spoilers.
- **Narrow Interpretation**
- Troop Focused: Enables peacekeepers to implement their mandate by relying on their “robustness” – in terms of their force posture, heavy equipment, and their ability to resort to force & violence
- Essentially – better-trained professional troops, with a more aggressive, violent policy
- **Broad interpretation**
- It is a political and operational strategy to signal the intention of a UN mission to implement its mandate and deter threats to an existing peace process in the face of resistance from spoilers.
- Essentially – firm stance adopted on all levels of UN peacekeeping management.

Withdrawal due to many factors

- The Taliban's resiliency and the emergence of ISIS resulted in significant territorial losses and casualties among Afghan National Security Forces. After the Canadian withdrawal from Kandahar province, the Taliban and affiliated groups overran the districts and villages that Canadian forces secured and rebuilt.

Defence requirements and social spending necessitated withdrawal from Afghanistan by Canada & the U.S.

- Climate change, militarization, nationalism, poverty and the global war on terrorism meant defence industries were ever-expanding and arms sales were increasing instead of decreasing.

Arms exports to the Middle East

- Canada's arms exports to the Middle East were the world's second-largest, after the United States.
- Canada leapfrogged Britain, France, Germany and Russia into second place in 2016, with \$3.44 billion in annual sales.
- While Canadian government officials talked about respect for human rights, Canada was ranked as the world's sixth largest weapons exporter overall. Canada's ranking did not count its unreported arms trade with the U.S. under the Defence Production Sharing Agreement (DPSA). We will talk more about DPSA later this term.
- As UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon warns, "the world is over-armed and peace is under-funded."

Pope Francis, Catholic leader

- Pope Francis spoke to the problem's crux: "Why are deadly weapons being sold to those who plan to inflict untold suffering on individuals and society? Sadly, the answer, as we all know, is simply for money: money that is drenched in blood, often innocent blood. In the face of this shameful silence, it is our duty to confront the problem and stop the arms trade."
- Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was hailed around the world for his commitment to women's rights and LGBTQ rights
- U.S. President Barack Obama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and pledged to abolish nuclear weapons. Yet nobody could forge peace in Afghanistan.

Civil society organizations

- Civil society organizations — such as the Canadian Peace Research Association, the Rideau Institute, Project Ploughshares, Pugwash Canada, the UN Association, and the World Federalist Movement — were being decimated by cutbacks and staffed mainly by volunteers.
- What remained of any protest movement tended to focus on opposing particular weapon systems, like the purchase of new F-35s and the sale of London-built light-armoured vehicles (LAVs) to Saudi Arabia.

Americans invested in ballistic missile defence, pledge new B-61 bombers in Europe and modernize nukes

- While Americans invested in ballistic missile defence, pledged new B-61 bombers in Europe and sent more troops to defend NATO along a new central front in Europe, Prime Minister promised to sell LAVs to Saudi Arabia and contributed 250 troops to NATO's symbolic trip-wire force in Latvia to deter the growing threat from Russia.

Middle powers had to cut the UN's annual peacekeeping budget drastically by billions

- At the same time, middle powers cut the UN's annual peacekeeping budget of approximately \$10.58 billion (Cdn.) in order to reduce the burden of long, costly peacekeeping operations.
- The number of Canadians killed in Afghanistan was 158. According to a recent investigation, 54 Canadian soldiers committed suicide after the war, obliging the government to put in place a suicide prevention strategy.

Combat-capable enforcement needs to be combined with peacekeeping training on the battlefield

- By contributing through the UN and NATO to operations that help keep the peace, Canada's professional soldiers, reservists, civilians and volunteers could acquire the skills and values necessary for contemporary peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peacemaking. Combat-capable enforcement needs to be combined with peacekeeping training on the battlefield and on site at a training centre close to Ottawa, with a substantive online capacity across the country and around the world.

Train the trainers and support Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan

- The Canadian government could still train the trainers and support Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan, jump-start a United Nations emergency peace service, and re-establish the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre.
- Training soldiers and police forces that contribute to humanitarian and security operations in war-torn nations would signal Canada's renewed commitment to UN peacekeeping and NATO, as well as burnish our country's already stellar peacekeeping record.

The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)

- Recall in 2005, Canada went back to the Kandahar region. This deployment coincided with a resurgence in Taliban activity, and the number of Canadian soldiers that took part in large-scale offensives against Taliban forces, like Operation Medusa in 2006, increased to approximately 2,300. At its height, Canada contributed approximately 3,000 personnel on a rotating basis every 6 months so this means many Canadian forces went to Afghanistan as part of a professional army. What happened to them?

Suicide attacks killed more military personnel

- As suicide attacks killed more military personnel and civilians and the war in Afghanistan became increasingly unpopular, Canada's combat role ended in 2011, and the focus shifted to training Afghanistan's army and police force. Operation Attention was the Canadian contribution to the training mission in Afghanistan. It delivered training and professional development support to the Afghan National Security Forces, including the air force and police. Many Canadians went to Afghanistan to help build schools and train the Afghan police forces.

Taliban's resiliency and the emergence of ISIL

- As PhD candidate Sakhi Naimpoor (previously senior security adviser to Afghan President Karzai and then became senior security advisor to the current Minister of Defence under President Ashraf Ghani in Afghanistan) and I reported, after Canada withdrew from Kandahar province, the Taliban and affiliated

groups overran the districts and villages that Canadian forces secured and rebuilt. For example, in Panjwaii district it was common to see schools that were Canadian taxpayer-funded projects being operated as madrasas — colleges for Islamic instruction — administered by the Taliban.

Devastated country

- Re-engaging in Afghanistan involved risks, as in any theatre of war. The death toll from one of the worst terrorist attacks in Kabul's city centre in 2017 was 150. It was not easy to counsel recommitment to that devastated country, especially from a safe perch in the ivory tower of academe.
- But the Trudeau government announced plans to seek a seat on the UN Security Council in 2021, a role that could come with more than symbolic power.

Send peacekeeping trainers to Afghanistan

- That meant Canada needed to reverse the trend of its declining participation in peacekeeping. And make a commitment to send peacekeeping trainers to Afghanistan. Rather than wait for pressure to build and for the UN to mandate a new peacekeeping force in Ukraine, we needed to realize that the separate Russian proposal for a peacekeeping mission in the region would slow down the prospect of a UN mission. Returning to Afghanistan now could give Canada a higher peacekeeping profile in a shorter time frame, before 2021.

Returning to Afghanistan

- Returning to Afghanistan, rather than starting anew in Ukraine, to help provide long-term stability would have required the direct involvement of Canadian military and foreign service professionals, as well as reservists, to help train Afghan soldiers and police.
- In the final analysis, Canada decided not to take the lead in protecting Afghanistan's nascent schools and institutions and Canada decided not to re-engage with NATO in leading Afghanistan toward security sector reform. We will talk about Canada's failed UN Security Council seat.

Donald Trump may switch course if he runs, again

- Donald Trump switched course many times from his original pledge to withdraw swiftly from Afghanistan; first he signed off on plans to send 4,000 more US troops, adding to the roughly 8,400 to 11,000 already there. Then he decided to drawdown the forces. Now he is arguing that he would never have allowed the debacle in Afghanistan.

Republican senators voted against Trump saying withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan and Syria would risk hard-won gains

- President Trump's impulsive foreign policy was restrained by the US Senate and the House when forty-three Republican senators helped pass a measure that opposed Mr. Trump by a 68-to-23 vote in February 2019. The text warned that "the precipitous withdrawal of United States forces" from either Syria or Afghanistan "could put at risk hard-won gains and United States national security."

Trump's withdrawal strategy

- Trump's withdrawal strategy was announced in December 2018 without consulting the NATO allies and regional partners. A day after his decision to pull American military forces from Syria, he ordered the start of a reduction of American forces in Afghanistan. Trump said the US would reduce its troop level there by 7,000, a reversal of his deployment of 3,000 more troops in September 2017.

US Defense Secretary Jim Mattis

- In response to Trump's capricious decision making, US Defense Secretary Jim Mattis lambasted his boss's impulsiveness and inexperience in military and security affairs in a widely circulated resignation letter. But

Trump replaced Mattis with Deputy Patrick Shanahan and chaos at the Pentagon intensified. The acting defense secretary (and the acting chief of staff) had no military experience.



**Jim
Mattis**



**Patrick
Shanahan**

Republican senators stalled Trump's threat

- Then Republican senators stalled Trump's threat to send half of the 14,000 U.S. forces in Afghanistan home. In February 2019 the House passed legislation that would ban Mr. Trump from using federal funds to withdraw from NATO.

US peace envoy Zalmay Khalilzad

- Meanwhile the latest round of negotiations with the Taliban, led by veteran US peace envoy Zalmay Khalilzad, resulted in a tentative peace agreement for Afghanistan after eighteen years of protracted war. The Trump administration backtracked on its longstanding policy of an Afghan-owned peace process in an attempt to end the conflict. It appointed Khalilzad to negotiate directly with the Taliban on behalf of the U.S.

Peace Talks in Doha, Qatar

- Negotiations toward peace went on for nearly a year. Finally in February 2020, the United States and the Taliban agreed in Doha, Qatar to adhere to a set of commitments. Most notably:
- The Taliban promised not to allow the use of Afghan soil for international and regional terror groups to stage attacks
- The U.S. promised to begin to withdraw 5,000 of its approximately 14,000 troops over 20 weeks.

Mullah Yaqub

- The Taliban sent a delegation of officials from the movement's political headquarters in Qatar, including two representatives of Mullah Yaqub, the elder son of the late Mullah Mohammad Omar, a Taliban founder, and three commanders from the notorious Haqqani Network.

- Regional participants in the talks include government representatives from Pakistan, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia.
- Professor Simpson was in Doha but not invited to the talks.

The Taliban's consistent list of demands

- The Taliban's consistent list of demands include the withdrawal of all foreign troops; full implementation of Islamic law and customs; and its expectation that Afghanistan revamp its current political system in ways that do not conflict with Islamic Code. Because their goals are religious, not political, according to Wahid Mojdah, a military affairs analyst and former diplomatic aide under the Taliban regime from 1999 to 2001, the Taliban will not be in a hurry in these talks.
-

Democratic Considerations Preceding the Withdrawal

- US and Afghan governments were in a big hurry because of upcoming elections
- The Trump administration wanted to appear successful at negotiating an end to the decades-long war
- President Ashraf Ghani was elected in 2014 and was motivated to reach an agreement before Afghanistan's Sept. 28 2020 general election.

Pressure for Swift Withdrawal

- Senior American and NATO policy-makers were under heavy pressure to plan a speedy withdrawal from five U.S. bases in Afghanistan over 135 days
- Implications:
- As the U.S. partially withdrew from Afghanistan, the other countries in the 29-member NATO alliance needed to contribute more non-combatative professional forces; they did not want to because the U.S. special forces would be gone. It would be too dangerous for the remaining Germans, Italians, etc. So in April 2021, all NATO allies decided to withdraw by September 11, 2021. Bad decision!

Expanding Taliban insurgency

- While the talks drag on, and Congress legislates around Trump, the Afghan government will still be embroiled in violent conflict against the backdrop of an expanding Taliban insurgency, combined with the further territorial expansion of ISIL (Da'esh) into the eastern provinces of Afghanistan.
-
- Nobody is negotiating with ISIL, and the prospect remains that Da'esh takes over Taliban-won territory, even as Afghan's government comes to term with a possible unwelcome peace agreement with the Taliban asking for unacceptable terms.

NATO's Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan

- NATO diplomats tend to maintain that the Canadian Armed Forces could be capable of taking a greater military role to support NATO's Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan. But they appreciate Canada's recent contribution of 250 troops to help defend Latvia. Moreover, they are thankful for Canada's latest contribution to support NATO's newest mission in Iraq, where 250 more Canadians are in charge of training.

Transitioning the Taliban from an armed movement to a political party

- Discussions with diplomats from Kabul, Afghanistan, however, indicate that another path toward an elusive peace in Afghanistan would be to focus on transitioning the Taliban from an armed movement to a political party.

Women's rights

- But in that case, there can be no compromises on the gains made over the past 18 years in enshrining people's constitutional rights and liberties into the overall democratic system, especially women's rights.

Afghanistan: Lest We Forget

- The Biden administration should have announced a longer withdrawal time in April
- The administration wanted to withdraw by the 20th anniversary of 9/11 and the attack on the Pentagon, New York City and so they applied their own deadlines/time based-interests – they should have consulted with the Afghan government and withdrew more slowly
 - They didn't think about considerations on the ground, since they were very eager to get out of Afghanistan
- The [Afghan] President was withdrawn, isolated and not in communication with the people of Afghanistan and the Afghan National Defence Force including the different sectors of the military, which was not trained well enough to take on the Taliban.
- They promised not to allow al-Qaeda [a terrorist group, banned in Russia] a safe haven in Afghanistan – and they allowed them in to fight with them. And the Taliban promised to negotiate but they abandoned those promises and attacked all the provincial capitals
- The Taliban could not be trusted. Nor can the Ghani government. Nor could a potential government led by Karzai (former President) or [the head of the Supreme Council for National Reconciliation in Afghanistan] Abdullah Abdullah (waiting in the wings). The entire situation was a bloodpath reminiscent of Vietnam and Saigon in the 1970s

The Resolute Support Mission

- Wanted augmentation - NATO did not want to commit
- If the U.S. were to more fully disengage from Afghanistan, its security capabilities would need strengthening to turn the tide against territorial losses, and counter low morale prevalent among the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF).
- The Resolute Support Mission needed augmentation with military expertise and technical assistance from more NATO allies. As the U.S. began to withdraw more troops, however, it was unclear which NATO allies could be counted upon to contribute more. Along with its NATO allies, the Canadian government declined to commit to further developing the Afghan National Security Force (ANSF).

Afghan government only controlled 55.5 percent of the country's districts

- In a report prepared for the US Congress, the Special Inspector General for Afghan Reconstruction (SIGAR) reported that the Afghan government currently controlled or influenced only 55.5 percent of the country's districts, marking the lowest level recorded since SIGAR began to keep records in 2015. (they were not able to keep control of their country) Formerly the Afghan government controlled 72 percent of districts.
- The ANSF was unable to hold onto the country's territory in the face of ISIL – the wealthiest terrorist organization in human history – and a resilient and sophisticated Taliban insurgency.

Transitioning the Taliban from an armed movement to a political party

- Discussions with diplomats from Kabul, Afghanistan, however, indicated that another path toward an elusive peace in Afghanistan would be to focus on transitioning the Taliban from an armed movement to a political party.
 - Would they share power? Nope, not at all

Women's rights

- Here the main problem was that the NATO countries saw that there could be no compromises on the gains made over the past 18 years in enshrining people's constitutional rights and liberties into the overall democratic system, especially women's rights.
- Hopefully the Taliban will understand that if they treat women badly as before, Afghanistan will become even more of a pariah state that Pakistan and Iran and other countries never want to associate with.
- The Taliban may hopefully learn to conduct themselves properly but the evidence of the last few years is that their promises are easily broken. They promised not to attack civilians and they did.
 - They are banning women, women cannot run businesses, they can only teach primary school
- More than 40,000 members of the Canadian Armed Forces served in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2014. In the Afghanistan theatre of operations, 158 Canadian Armed Forces members died. Many organizations went to Afghanistan to help women enter the work force and go to university....what now?
- Seven Canadian civilians also passed away, with many Canadian veterans suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).
 - They will be recovering from physical and psychological injuries for decades to come. From what they saw in afghan
- For those of us who were involved with Afghanistan and want to help, can we sponsor a refugee on our own? We will need to join forces with organizations, like churches, that are willing to explain how we will house and feed families of five or more.
 - As a private sponsor, we need to be working with a "Group of Five" or more Canadian citizens and a "Sponsorship Agreement Holder,"
 - we will face heavy bureaucratic burdens because we will need to explain what, exactly, we have in place for Afghans that arrive. There will be a lot of paperwork and we will need money to sponsor groups of five or more.
 - We also need to get the applicant recognized as a refugee by either the United Nations Refugee Agency or a foreign state.
 - Initially, I (prof) advised my colleagues to take any form of transportation to India or Pakistan—to get out of Kabul/afghanistan—but now that advice is dangerous.
- The Taliban are blocking roads, searching houses, and beating some people in the fleeing crowds. Some friends are hiding in their basements fearful of being captured.
- As one colleague wrote to me [sic]: "We are still alive," but "any second, minute, hour, and day [could] END the life, any time. I can't stay in one place. I am changing the location every time. In this time there is no way to escape from Taliban." He went on to write...
 - "Only one way I can see that U.S. Army helicopters wings save us to take us to Kabul airfield, then other country, otherwise we have no way to become new refugee. I've lost my sleep. I don't know where I'm going."
- Even if our (prof) colleagues had reached the Kabul airfield, the runways were full of American and European planes transporting out their own citizens. U.S. President Joe Biden also promised to keep bringing out Afghan interpreters and embassy staff.
 - Airport was full and people couldn't leave

- At this point, it is difficult to say what Canada will do over the long term. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau promised to take in 40,000 refugees but there is a backlog.
- Compared to his promise to take in large numbers of Syrian refugees, this will be a daunting promise to fulfill
- Canada brought in 39,636 Syrian refugees between Nov. 4, 2015, and December 2016.
- But there are more than five million Afghans in Kabul—which grew to encompass almost half the urban population of the country—and there are 36.6 million people in the entire country.
- It is a strife-ridden, small, and mountainous country about the size of Ontario that will be powerfully afflicted by drought and natural disasters due to climate change—and yet it has the same approximate population size as Canada.
- We can blame NATO officials for not publicly protesting when Biden suddenly announced the withdrawal would be complete by the 20th anniversary of the terrorist attack on Washington, New York City, and the Pentagon.
- That date was arbitrarily chosen based on American needs, not on Afghan requirements. NATO allies started withdrawing forces from the Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan by May 1, 2021 with plans to complete the drawdown of all troops within a few months
- The Afghan army was under-trained, poor, and under-equipped. Once Taliban warlords began to threaten local warlords that the soldiers would be killed, they fled by taking off their military uniforms, and some even joined the Taliban or bicycled away.

Landmines & the Ottawa Process

- International campaign to ban landmines (Ottawa process)
- Canadian government is known for taking the initiative so going to focus on this success story
- About 500 people die each week because of landmines and thousands more are maimed and stay in society and are reminders to the losers about the cost of war
- Civilians are ten times more likely to be killed by landmines following a war than by soldiers during hostilities → against international law and Geneva conventions
- Landmines cost \$5 to \$15 to buy but \$300 to \$1,000 each to remove
- For every mine cleared, at least 20 more are laid
 - Right now, they're being made in Ukraine and people are not keeping track of where they're laid
- 110 million antipersonnel landmines are now in place in 60 countries around the world
 - Distinction between anti tank landmines and antipersonnel
- The only mine clearance technique currently known to be 100% effective is manual clearance, using metal detectors, prodders, and hand brooms
- This method, while expensive, is also more affordable than techniques requiring higher technology
- Nevertheless, more than 300 types of landmines continue to be manufactured in 48 nations
 - Some are more easily detectable than others
 - Some are plastic and are washed away by floods
 - Many are easily confused for toys
 - Young children go into field to retrieve them and are maimed or killed
- Even when used in accordance with international regulations, landmines cannot distinguish between the footstep of a soldier or of a child playing → against international law
- Landmines stay active in the ground for decades following a conflict, so even after a ceasefire, the war continues

Landmines and Cluster Bombs with guest #5 Turcotte

Interview: Earl Turcotte

Biography

EDUCATION

Earl Turcotte has a B.A. from the University of Windsor, an M.A in Philosophy from the University of Ottawa, and an M.A. in International Affairs from Carleton University

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

After short term positions with World University Service of Canada (WUSC) and as a UNICEF volunteer in India in the mid-1970s, Mr. Turcotte served as a Parliamentary Assistant to a Canadian M.P. in 1978 and 1979.

After completing graduate studies in 1982, he joined the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) serving in various capacities over a 22-year period, including as Country Program Manager, Planner, Country Analyst, First Secretary (posted in Ghana) and finally as Chief of CIDA's Mine Action Unit for several years.

In 2004, Mr. Turcotte joined the United Nations Development Program in New York as Senior Development Adviser with the UNDP Mine Action Team.

In mid - 2005, he returned to Canada to join the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (now Global Affairs Canada) as Senior Coordinator for Mine Action and Director of the Mine Action Team. For the following seven years he had lead diplomatic responsibility for Canada's engagement on the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Treaty (Ottawa Convention), the Convention on Conventional Weapons, and was chief Canadian negotiator of the Convention on Cluster Munitions. For several years he also managed Canada's engagement in the UN Program of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons.

Mr. Turcotte left the Canadian Public Service in 2011.

- From 2012 to 2014, he served as UNDP's Chief Technical Adviser to the Government of Laos in the Unexploded Ordnance Sector, and was based in Vientiane
- Since returning to Canada, Mr. Turcotte has focused largely on nuclear disarmament. He has served terms as:

Chairperson of the Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (CNANW);

- Canadian Coordinator of Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) Canada
- A member of the Peace and Security Working Group of the G78.

He remains a:

- Member of the Canadian Pugwash Group for Science and Peace
- Mr. Turcotte has published numerous articles on Mine Action and on Nuclear Disarmament.

STAT: 95% of landmine and cluster bombs deaths are civilians

Cluster bombs - area wide

- Opposite of precision weapon
- saturate a white area
- Weapon of terror and try to exact a price on the civilian area

- Hollow casing (usually drop from air) and inside is hundred of submissions which spread
- 40% do not explode on impact - last for decades (ex: Laos, Vietnam, etc)
- Inhumane and in contrary to international humane laws
- Should never have been developed or used

Canada - Landmine Treaty

- CCW - convention on certain conventional weapons
- Based on consensus - anonymous (VERY SLOW FORUM)
 - Misinterpreted as working on the slowest most obstructionist state?
 - Were able to ban minor insiniera weapons, laser weapons
 - Were able to ban some but not the most destructive weapons
- Norway took the lead with 6 other countries - 108 countries came together and on cluster commissions (disarmament treaty)
 - Over 110 state parties + 13 signatures
- Self selection - countries self selected to talk about cluster bombs
 - Not intending → Russia, Myanmar (+ USA)
 - USA participated in negotiaions but chose not to come on board (largely because of demilitarised zone between SK and NK)
 - Russia and Myanamr not state parties (ratified agreement) but respect the global standards
 - Comes from stigmatisation of weapons → more pressure to NOT use them
- Convention on Cluster munitions
 - Banned all forums of cluster munitions
 - Tremendous humanitarian benefits
- Ukraine has requested cluster admissions from US
 - That offer is not off the table
 - US have not provided them with cluster bombs/cluster munitions
 - Impact on their own military and civilian population is not worth
- No contacts/feedback from american administration on his views on Cluster munitions

Ottawa Treaty

- In 1997 - Ottawa Treaty open to signature
- Roughly 164 state parties (93/94)
- Successful in negotiaion